Daily Report

East Europe

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Participants Address United Nations Meetings

Horn Speaks on Disarmament

LD1910221488 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] New York, October 19 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian state secretary for foreign affairs, contributed to the main political and disarmament committee of the UN General Assembly on Wednesday.

Mr. Horn stated that the far-reaching changes which had started in international relations reflected a gradual recognition of the interdependence of states. Simultaneously, the United Nations was playing a growing role in strengthening international security, promoting disarmament and the peaceful settlement of local conflicts, and in establishing appropriate systems of verification. A further political and organizational renewal in the United Nations would be made easier if there were the opportunity for forecasting the emergence of international conflicts and for preventing them by drawing the attention of the community of nations to them and coordinating the preventive measures.

The state secretary emphasized that the current, palpable upswing in the work of multilateral forums reflected an improvement in international relations, and strengthened the favourable tendencies. Constructive relations between the great powers and an advance in bilateral disarmament talks could greatly promote the successful work of the international disarmament forums. Mr. Horn expressed the hope that, by preserving political committment and showing increasing readiness for compromises, strategic offensive weapons could be reduced as soon as possible.

The state secretary emphasized that the greatest achievement of the 3rd UN Disarmament session was that it had provided the opportunity for the member states to confront one another's views whilst maintaining their differing priorities. The ideas for making the mechanism of disarmament more efficient should be examined by the special session. A comprehensive study should be made on the role of the United Nations in supervising the implementation of the agreements on arms limitation and disarmament. Also in need of examination was the role the world organization could play in registering and summing up the national military programmes and directions of development, and guaranteeing appropriate publicity.

Mr. Horn spoke about the major items on the agenda of the international disarmament forums. He welcomed the joint US-Soviet efforts to ban nuclear tests.

To impose a ban on radiological weapons and, closely connected to that, on attacks upon peaceful nuclear projects was indispensable for nuclear security. Unfortunately, despite pressing appeals, little advance had been made in the talks on these topics.

Discussing the agreement being worked out to ban nuclear weapons, Mr. Horn said he welcomed the agreement which had been reached on verification. Hungary was examining ways of direct participation in the practice of verification. It would be good if this practice were enforced in international cooperation from the very beginning.

The state secretary underlined that the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments could play a decisive role in making sure that the security of states was guaranteed by political, economic and human elements rather than human factors. It was a good sign that both the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO had become aware that a further increase in armed forces and armaments, beside the huge economic burdens, hindered political efforts aimed at reducing international tensions. It had become a pressing necessity to decrease the material and technical basis of military opposition radically and to stabilize power relations on a lower level.

The Hungarian Government advocated that disarmament talks be launched as soon as possible after the successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up conference, and that the participants make tangible progress in strengthening security in Europe within a given time. A stable system of security should be created, based on the mutual offensive incapability of the opposing forces. Hungary had a fundamental interest in making radical and concrete steps to decrease armed forces and armaments, in the framework of pan-European disarmament.

Mr. Horn welcomed the invigoration of multilateral inter-state dialogue on all important elements of international relations. A complex approach to security had been proposed by the socialist countries in the establishing of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Mr. Horn expressed the hope that a fruitful and open debate would be held on this initiative in the UN General Assembly. Dialogue would be successful if multilateral agreements were concluded on the partial fields, new forms of international political and economic cooperation established, and genuine relations developed between the different integrations. The sources of tension still characterizing human rights and humanitarian issues should be eliminated. In the latter field, the world organization could become an institution constantly monitoring and controlling respect for human rights. In the current situation, all member states should make efforts to ensure the UN forums and agencies become active participants in such multilateral cooperation.

Romanian Delegate Gives Speech

AU1210124988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1216 GMT 12 Oct 88

["Romanian Address in the UN General Assembly"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] United Nations, AGERPRES, 12/10/1988—Speaking in the UN General Assembly's second commission in the debate on international economic and financial problems, Romania's permanent representative at

the UN, Ambassador Petre Tanasie, highlighted the very complex and contradictory character of the present economic situation, the continuing deterioration of the position of the developing countries. The developing countries' foreign debt problem has been a source of worldwide concern he said in reference to the protectionist measures taken by the developed countries that further deteriorated the position of the developing countries. There were cases, he went on, when non-economic criteria were resorted to, as well as subjective and arbitrary interpretations of realities in other countries to justify the refusal of granting most-favoured-nation status or preferential treatment as part of the generalized scheme of preferences. Adding to all that were the unfair and antidemocratic IMF and IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] practices that amount to interference in the domestic affairs of those countries.

The Romanian representative then referred to the protection of the environment and the demand to prevent its pollution. He showed that the health of the planet and of its inhabitants had deteriorated as a result of the growing sources of pollution—of the air and the land, of seas and ocean, and of the outer space. The present situation, said Romania's representative, is behind the Romanian Government's demand for a special item to be included on the UN General Assembly's agenda on the responsibility of states for the protection of the environment and the prevention of its pollution through toxic and radioactive waste accumulations and on a closer international cooperation for the settlement of that question.

The speaker stressed that Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu had proposed the calling of a UN-sponsored international conference of developed and developing countries to discuss the present problems of the world economy, the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new international economic order.

Symposium Debates East-West Economic Cooperation

LD0810051188 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 7 (MTI)—The four-day symposium of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe ended its work in Budapest on Friday [7 October]. The event was attended by leading economic politicians from 25 countries, and the CMEA and the Common Market. Discussions were held on the development and economic growth of Europe and the prognoses for the world economic situation at the turn of the century. A roundtable conference was held within the symposium, at which prominent politicians, including Amintore Fanfani, Italian minister for the budget and planning, Otto Schlecht, West German state secretary for economics, and Stefan Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, voiced their views.

Gusztav Bager, head of department of the Hungarian National Planning Office, who chaired the session, said in a statement to MTI that the debate at the symposium had placed particular emphasis on accelerating economic growth. The Soviet and Hungarian efforts at reform had aroused great interest, particularly the Soviet plan under which the CMEA countries would create a unified market as soon as possible, and the turning of the rouble into a convertible means of payment within the foreseeable future.

With respect to cooperation between the two economic groups, the Western speakers analyzed the advantages of the union of the Common Market planned for 1992, while experts from the socialist countries and several experts from non- Common Market countries also voiced their anxieties that such a union might be accompanied by isolation. In reply, the Western European politicians promised total openness, and referred to the example of the recently-concluded agreement between Hungary and the Common Market.

The symposium also dealt with themes of environmental protection, particularly with issues relating to energy management. Participants supported the proposal of Amintore Fanfani to organize a pan-European environmental protection year to solve problems jointly.

Meeting of Balkan Countries' Rectors Noted

AU1110212988 Bucharest AGERPES in English 1859 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 11/10/1988—On Tuesday, 11 October the proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Rectors of the Balkan Countries' Universities started at the Bucharest University.

For four days the delegates from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Greece, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Republic of Romania will debate questions related to the ways and methods to intensify the exchange of scientific documentation and information and will approach aspects regarding the concerns of the higher learning institutions in the Balkan countries to train the national cadres with good professional skills, necessary for each country's socioeconomic development, to educate the youth in the spirit of peace and international cooperation.

Alia Receives Egyptian, Bulgarian Ambassadors

AU2010200788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Mansur Ahmad Al-Dal'i [as heard], ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials.

The ceremony was attended by Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Bashkim Dino, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Kostaq Cifligu, chief of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Comrade Ramiz Alia also received today Khristaki Kunev, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who presented his credentials.

The ceremony was attended by Minister of Foreign Affairs Reis Malile, Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Andon Berxoli, director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Kostaq Cifligu, chief of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

FRG Official for Economic Cooperation Arrives

AU2010200688 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Siegfried Lengl, state secretary at the Ministry of Economic Cooperation of the FRG, arrived today in Albania. He was received at the airport by Bujar Kolaneci, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission; Bujar Toka, directorate director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other comrades. Officials of the FRG Embassy in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania were also present.

Rally Marks Construction of Ferrochrome Plant

AU1910125788 Tirana ATA in English 1051 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Text] Tirana, October 19 (ATA)—On October 18, in the atmosphere of revolutionary enthusiasm aroused far and wide our country by Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech at the rally on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of Comrade Enver Hoxha's birthday, and the inauguration of his monument, there was inaugurated the beginning of the work for the construction of the new ferrochrome plant at the "Steel of the Party" Metallurgical Combine at Elbasan, one of the important projects of this 5-year plan.

A rally was organized on the occasion in the square where the new object will be built. Attending were also, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Llambi Gegprifti, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of industry and mining; Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission; Ismail Ahmeti, minister of construction; Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, and others.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, those present were greeted by Comrade Llambi Gegprifti. The construction of this project, he said among the other things, marks a very important step regarding the implementation of the economic policy of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha for the further development of mineral processing industry. This plant will process about 100 thousand tons of chrome ore a year and will turn out about 38 thousand tons of ferrochrome. This project is designed by the specialists of the institutes of construction, metallurgy and energetics. The commissioning of this plant is of very high economic effectiveness. The net income are three-fold higher in foreign currency, as compared to the mineral export. Then, Comrade Llambi Gegprifti spoke of the method of national undertaking to be applied to ensure fast rates in setting up this project, which will be set up relying completely on our own forces.

Zhivkov Meets CPSU Organization Head

AU2010143588 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] On 20 October at the Boyana Residence, Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Yuriy Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the CPSU Leningrad Oblast Committee, who is paying a working visit to Bulgaria.

During the cordial talk which took place, our first party and state leader spoke about the broad-scale activity of the BCP in restructuring all areas of our social life on the basis of the July Concept and the decisions of the BCP National Conference.

The Soviet guest spoke about the activity of the CPSU Leningrad Oblast organization in implementing the CPSU instructions on restructuring and renewing Soviet society.

Opinions were exchanged on further strengthening Bulgarian-USSR overall cooperation and drawing together.

The meeting was attended by Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, and Panteley Pachov, first secretary of the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Committee. Vladimir Kuznetsov, charge d'affaires at the USSR Embassy in Sofia, also attended the meeting.

Stoichkov Receives USSR Minister Konarev

AU2010121188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Nikolay Konarev, USSR minister of railways, in Sofia yesterday. They discussed possibilities for the further expansion of bilateral cooperation in the field of transportation, as well as opportunities for increasing passenger trains and freight transport, in particular.

Georgi Tanev, minister of transportation, attended the meeting, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Soviet Communications Symposium Opens in Sofia

AU2010190688 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Oct 88 p 6

[Zina Sokolova report: "New Information Technologies"]

[Text] A 2-day symposium on the subject: "New Soviet Equipment and Technologies in the Communications Sector" opened at the House of Soviet Science and Culture in Sofia yesterday. In their greetings addresses, Atanas Popov, chairman of the "Communications" Association, and Gennadiy Kudryavtsev, USSR first deputy minister of communications, stressed the requirement to rally the efforts of both our countries in connection with the introduction and application of updated telecommunication technologies, and pointed out the role of communications in the century of data processing and optical electronics.

The papers expected to be read by Soviet scientists at this symposium will deal with basic development trends in the field of communications equipment and radio broadcasting, the main domestic regional radio relay lines in the USSR, the present and future state of development in the sphere of digital transmission systems using metal and optical cables, and other topics of this kind.

Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship All-National Committee, attended the opening session of the symposium.

SFRY Trade Union Delegation Visits

Holds Talks With Yotov

AU2010194688 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—Mr. Yordan Yotov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, received Mr. Marjan Orozen, chairman of the Council of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, who is heading a Yugoslavian trade union delegation visiting this country at the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. Mr. Yordan Yotov briefed the guest on the realization of the changes in the political, economic and social life of this country. On his part the Yugoslavian guest informed of the role and the tasks of the Yugoslavian trade unions at the present stage and dwelled on the work and the resolutions of the 17th Plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Meeting With Dyulgerov

AU2110074688 Sofia BTA in English 2216 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Bulgaria, Yugoslavia: TU Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 20 (BTA)—At the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions a delegation of the Council of the Confederation of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia headed by Mr Marjan Orozen, chairman of the confederation, is visiting this country. It had a meeting with a delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions headed by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. During the talks, which passed in a sincere and friendly atmosphere, Mr Marjan Orozen informed of the role and tasks of the trade unions for the improvement of the living and labour conditions of working people, for the further development of self-management in the conditions of the economic, political and social reforms under way in Yugoslavia.

Mr Petur Dyulgerov spoke about the changes under way in Bulgaria in the political, economic and social life, about the restructuring in the activity of the Bulgarian trade unions in the new conditions of management.

The two sides stressed the positive development of the relations between the national leaderships, as well as between the branch and territorial trade union organizations, between the work teams of enterprises from the two countries. The joint readiness for broadening and enrichment of the mutual cooperation was reiterated.

A programme for cooperation between the Bulgarian and the Yugoslavian trade unions for the 1989-1990 period was adopted.

Filipov-Led BCP Delegation Departs for CSSR

AU1810161288 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Text] A BCP delegation led by Comrade Grisha Filipov departed for Prague on 18 October. The delegation will visit the CSSR at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

DPRK Party Delegation Exchanges Views

AU1910121388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] A delegation of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK], led by Hwang Chang-yop, secretary of the WPK Central Committee for international issues, visited Bulgaria from 12 to 17 October at the invitation of the BCP Central Committee.

The leader and members of the DPRK delegation were received by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary. At the meeting, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Comrade Milko Balev again expressed the support of Bulgaria and its people for the Korean people's struggle for the peaceful unification of their motherland. On behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, he conveyed most cordial greetings and best wishes to Kim Il-song, the first DPRK party and state leader.

At the talks between Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, and Hwang Chang-yop, opinions were exchanged and a high assessment of BCP-WPK cooperation expressed. At the same time, the need to of search for more efficient forms of improving cooperation under the new conditions in the two countries was pointed out.

Comrade Hwang Chang-yop reported on the DPRK's internal and international policy, and spoke in detail about the situation in the Korean peninsula.

On the Bulgarian side, the guests were briefed on the basic directions of Bulgaria's internal-political and economic development, the implementation of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the consequent BCP Central Committee plenums, and some important elements of Bulgaria's foreign policy in the light of the world realities and the new political thinking.

During their visit, the Korean comrades visited Vratsa, where they had talks with local party and economic leaders, were briefed on the achievements in economic development, and acquainted themselves with the municipality's historical and cultural sites.

The meetings and talks were attended by Ha Tong-yun, DPRK ambassador to Bulgaria.

Stoyan Markov Departs for Aden 13 Oct

AU1710151788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Oct 88 p 6

[Text] A Bulgarian party and government delegation, headed by Stoyan Markov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, yesterday departed for Aden. It will participate in the celebrations of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the revolution and the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Yemeni Socialist Party.

Zhivkov Attends Women's Organization Conference

AU2010200388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Excerpts] The Fourth National Conference of the Movement of Bulgarian Women took place on 20 October at Sofia's Georgi Kirkov Hall. Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman; and Comrades Yordan Yotov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Grigor Stoichkov, Nacho Papazov, and Emil Khristov; and leaders of public organizations and creative unions took part in the conference's work.

The participants greeted our first party and state leader with exceptional cordiality and prolonged applause. Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke. [passage omitted]

The conference's agenda included a report on the activity and tasks of the Movement of Bulgarian Women Under Conditions of Restructuring and the election of a Committee of Bulgarian Women. [passage omitted]

The members of the Committee of Bulgarian Women were elected. Elena Lagadinova was reelected chairperson. Genoveva Mikhova, Mariya Vasileva, and Mariya Zakharieva were elected deputy chairperson.

Conferences Draw Attention to 'Shortcomings'

AU1310190788 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 11 Oct 88 pp 1,2

[Editorial: "Restructuring Is Gathering Momentum"]

[Excerpts] Less than 3 months separate us from the end of 1988—the year which was expected to bring about decisive changes in our attitude toward our own work, the year in which we were expected to assess our role in implementing the great tasks of our epoch. We were expected, with our own efforts and sense of responsibility—each of us in his own workplace—to achieve the standards of the criteria established by the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and to implement the decisions of the BCP National Conference. To what extent did we respond to these requirements? This is, actually, the basic question that the participants in recent conferences of party, economic, and social aktivs from the Sofia municipalities are trying to answer.

The highly critical approach which distinguished the reports read and the statements made at these conferences, the analysis of shortcomings and mistakes, and the fact that those who are responsible for these shortcomings were pointed out along with the atmosphere of strictness and high criteria, which characterized the decisions adopted, eloquently show that restructuring is gathering momentum to an ever increasing extent and is becoming the cause of every collective, and every individual worker and specialist.

Ivan Panev, first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, and several high-ranking functionaries of the BCP Central Central Committee, the Sofia City BCP Committee, and the Sofia City People's Council Executive Committee participated in the aforementioned conferences.

The conference of the party aktiv from the "Vuzrazhdane" municipality was characterized by three basic factors: It expressed concern over past shortcomings and dissatisfaction with the standards of projects mapped out for 1989, as well as a firm resolve to take advantage of all available resources in order to improve work. The report read by Lev Petrov, first secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee, provided a positive basis for the discussion that followed. [passage omitted]

The conference was followed by a meeting of the BCP Municipal Committee Bureau, which adopted sanctions against the party leaders and economic managements of those enterprises which failed to ensure the necessary, regular pace in fulfilling the current 9-month plan.

The conference held by the "Vitosha" municipality reviewed the shortcomings in a critical and analytical spirit, without self-complacency about the successes achieved. Shortcomings and irregularities were discussed and methods of improving overall work were examined. [passage omitted] Essential shortcomings were established relating to the town development program in the "Vitosha" municipality. Trade services to the population are not up to the necessary standards, either, despite the fact that improvements were recently achieved through the modernization of the large "Petur Tonev" supermarket and by building new food stores in various districts of the municipality. [passage omitted]

Despite encouraging results, achieved in the last 9 months of 1988, the conference of the "Sredets" municipality proceeded in a spirit of great strictness and self-criticism. [passage omitted]

The analysis of existing shortcomings in the aforementioned municipality revealed that they are mainly a result of subjective reasons. [passage omitted]

The conference of the "Krasno Selo" municipality revealed that the 9-month plan was fulfilled according to all basic economic indexes. Nevertheless, the reports read by Vasko Boyadzhiev, first secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee, and by Vasil Spasov, secretary of the municipal party committee, as well as the ensuing debates, expressed dissatisfaction at the speed of work in fulfilling current tasks. [passage omitted]

The analysis submitted by Snezhana Slavcheva, first secretary of the "Serdika" Municipal BCP Committee, was fully supported by the participants in the respective conference. [passage omitted] Substantial shortcomings in the investment process were established in this connection. Leading cadres were held responsible for breaches of labor and technological discipline committed in their respective collectives. The manager is the central figure in the restructuring process. He enjoys the support and confidence of the municipal leadership, but this also greatly enhances his responsibility. The conference submitted requirements to the Municipal People's Council's Executive Committee in connection with intensifying individual and collective efforts in producing goods and providing services to the population. The work of enterprises producing mass consumer goods requires drastic improvement. [passage omitted]

Manol Chobanov, first secretary of the "Kremikovtsi" Municipal BCP Committee, devoted the majority of his report to the regular plan fulfillment and achievement of higher development rates. A thorough analysis of the plan on the scientific-technical and socioeconomic development of the municipality and of the existing shortcomings prompted lively debates on the part of participants in the conference, which were characterized by a spirit of criticism and self-criticism.

The party, economic, and social aktiv of the Kremikovtsi Technological and Metallurgical Combine discussed a report submitted by Georgi Kharizanov, general manager of the combine, dealing with the implementation of an investigation conducted by the State and People's Control Committee.

Strougal 'Not Fully Withdrawn From Political Life'

LD2010172588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1609 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Prague, October 20 (TANJUG)—Lubomir Strougal, Czechoslovakia's so-far premier and a member of its innermost party leadership until recently, has not fully withdrawn from political life, it was indirectly confirmed here today.

Strougal is a member of the commission for drawing up a first program for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set up at its Central Committee session a short time ago. The 61-member commission, whose line-up was made public by the newspaper RUDE PRAVO today, is led by Milos Jakes, the CC secretary-general. Strougal is still a CC member and a deputy to the Federal Assembly.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's first program, up to now replaced by the party's five-year documents on the nation's socio-economic development, should be completed by the party's next congress to be held a year ahead of its statutory timelimit, in the first half of 1990.

Further on 10th CPCZ Central Committee Session

Jakes Gives Opening Statement

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[Unattributed report: "Party Work—the Decisive Prerequisite of Success in Restructuring and Democratization; From the Opening Statement by Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session" in Prague on 10 October]

[Text] We have gathered for today's session, Comrade Milos Jakes said, only 6 months after the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session. Although the period separating the two sessions was not long, it can be said to have been filled with important events—important both from the domestic and the international viewpoint.

The activities of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat have been concentrated on working out, organizing, and checking on the fulfillment of conclusions adopted by the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the party's Central Committee. The report submitted here on the activities of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat and of the Central Committee commissions shows that these activities concerned a broad circle of issues in practically every sphere of party work and of the life of our society. The CPCZ's Central Committee bodies primarily focused their attention on the implementation of adopted measures, especially those linked with the gradual economic and social restructuring, with the accomplishment of this year's tasks in socioeconomic development, with the preparation of plans for the years 1989 and 1990, with the activation of the party itself, and with the consolidation of cadres in management bodies. The period between the two sessions was also a period of energetic participation in the development of international cooperation (particularly with the CEMA states, and in the struggle for peace and disarmament).

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in particular provided new and significant ideas for our course, and its results have encountered a widespread echo and support throughout our party and our public. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium has discussed using the ideas yielded by the deliberations of Soviet Communists under our own conditions, and adopted specific measures to this end.

Certain issues have already been anchored in the conclusions of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions. The course oriented toward substantially raising the independence and responsibility of enterprises and working collectives, and toward broadly implementing the principles of self-management and of the election of leading staff, is now being carried out. The sessions also produced important decisions, such as the decision to further intensify socialist democracy, develop the flow of information to the public, and encourage control. The sessions also adopted conclusions dealing with the development of a system of life-long cadre training, the length of terms of office, and the healthy exchange of party functionaries and cadres in other sectors.

The Inspiration of the 19th CPSU Conference [subhead]

In keeping with the adopted timetable, the suggestions voiced during the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussion about the conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will be implemented (in particular) in resolving the issues connected with preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress, with the elaboration of the party program, with the amendment of party statutes, and with the further shaping of the party apparatus. Many ideas provided by the deliberations of Soviet Communists will also be used to improve the political system of our society, prepare the new CSSR Constitution, intensify the democratic principles of general elections, prepare the program for the comprehensive development of nations and nationalities in the CSSR, and also to resolve other issues, such as those connected with the accomplishment of decisive tasks in the economic, paramilitary-security, ideological, and mass-political spheres of party work.

The set program and the materials submitted here make it clear that we should adopt a number of important decisions in this connection at the present Central Committee session.

The party's regional and district conferences (which followed up the agenda of annual members meetings in primary organizations) were an important step toward working out and implementing the conclusions of the Seventh, and particularly the Ninth, CPCZ Central Committee Sessions. The conferences fully endorsed the course embarked upon by the party at the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of its Central Committee, and clearly represented a shift toward clarifying the tasks of party bodies, organizations, and members in economic and social restructuring and in providing changes in the style and methods of party work ensuing from this. The conferences also carried out a considerable exchange of cadres in territorially-based party agencies. However, on the whole this rather differentiated process has shown us how much still remains to be done to activate the party and to turn it into a real political vanguard.

The solution of this key issue (which is the decisive prerequisite for success in restructuring and democratization) constituted the content of the conferences of leading secretaries and secretaries of regional party committees and Prague and Bratislava City Committees, as well as for meetings and talks with the party aktiv in various sectors of party and society work, with prewar party members, with the representatives of artists' unions, and with journalists. The purpose of all these meetings was to brief their participants on the party leadership's intentions and work, and to accumulate views and experience to be used both in preparing important decisions (for adoption by CPCZ Central Committee bodies), and in unifying the implementation of these decisions. The leading functionaries and staff of the party apparatus participated in party meetings and gatherings and visited working collectives far more frequently than in the past.

From this viewpoint we consider the national conference of leading secretaries of the district and regional party committees in June 1988 to be highly significant. It showed full unity both in the evaluation of the situation, and in approaches to the solution of the most important problems in the party and society. It was confirmed that such a conference is an important working method, useful for the activities of territorially-based party bodies and Central Committee agencies. That is why we will continue to use this method, in line with the conclusions of the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session.

Changes in the Content and Division of Work [subhead]

In the past period we paid great attention to the changes that have occurred in the content and division of work carried out by the CPCZ Central Committee's executive agencies. The Presidium is now increasingly concentrating on resolving decisive conceptual issues. The Secretariat (committed to this by the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session) is intensifying its inspection and organizational role—for instance, it discussed the control reports on provisions for the accomplishment of tasks set by the 17th Congress, and by the CPCZ Central Committee sessions which followed it, under the conditions of the party's North and East Bohemian organizations and its Bratislava City organization; it also dealt with the activities of communists among the executives of our central agencies in providing for the accomplishment of tasks in socioeconomic development and in restructuring and democratization. This accords in practice with the demand that accounts should be rendered. It is becoming obvious that this is the right working method. We must learn how to make more efficient use of it, particularly in our effort to effect practical changes. This primarily requires us to eliminate generalizations, to make better analyses of the causes of shortcomings, to generalize our good experience for others, and to draw more specific conclusions about individual people.

In order to improve the flow of information inside the party (including information given to CPCZ Central Committee members and candidate members, and to members of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission), we have begun to regularly publish the Collection of Documents of CPCZ Central Bodies, and to issue operational information about topical political and ideological problems—such as, for instance, information about the activation of antisocialist forces and their attempts to abuse various anniversaries that fall this year, information about church policy, etc. We realize that this activity must be further intensified and improved from the center, and that we must see to it that information reaches our primary organizations and every party member and candidate member both promptly, and without distortion—this is an important prerequisite, if it is to make an effective political impact on the people. In the same way it is necessary to improve the quality of information coming from below. Here we must proceed more consistently from the approved principles in organizing the distribution of information inside the party; we must improve the in-depth evaluation of the development of the political situation and of the public opinion within the circle of operations of our party agencies and organizations; we must promptly point out the growing problems and shortcomings; and, above all, we must not forget the good experience when implementing the party's policy. In order to develop the course we have embarked upon—the course of a broad flow of information to the public, the course of public control—the communists and all other citizens must be frankly appraised of the general situation in society (but also in individual areas, workplaces, and places of residence) along party, state, economic, and social lines. We know from experience that a lot must be remedied in this respect, for our citizens often know far more about world events than about the things happening in the places where they work and live.

In accordance with the resolution of the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session and the conclusions of the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session on the improvement of cadre policy, the work on amending the cadre rosters of party bodies is now drawing to an end. After completion the appropriate draft will be submitted

to the party's Central Committee for discussion. As the report submitted on their activities states, the Presidium and the Secretariat have also adopted other necessary documents, which specify the course to be taken in selecting, placing, and appraising the cadres, in checking on them, and in intensifying the democratic principles in cadre work. Steps are also being taken to provide the necessary prerequisites for an accelerated, thorough training of economic, state, and party cadres in matters of restructuring, and particularly in matters of economic reform.

Higher Standards of the Party's Ability to Act [subhead]

The experimental testing of the new organizational structure of the apparatus of territorially-based party agencies began on 1 October 1988 in two regions, and in one district in each region. The current period is testing the party's ability to act and its close ties with the working people and the citizens. However, we cannot speak of any substantial progress in this direction. Generally speaking, we must step up our efforts to consistently implement the Leninist style and methods of party work—we must overcome complacency, passivity, and stagnation, we must not mark time, we must increase the demands placed on every communist. The good quality of party ranks is the decisive prerequisite for accomplishing the set tasks. We will not succeed without a demanding appraisal of the professional, political, and moral qualities and talents of our party members, and without consistently checking on their contribution to the provisions for reaching the common goals.

The demand to continue improving our work fully applies to the activities of the party's Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat, and to the activities of the party apparatus. We are aware of this, and we will be comprehensively dealing with these issues again, at the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium session in November 1988. We must assess the real state of affairs in a far more demanding, stricter way. The party and the general public appreciate the suggestions and decisions made by the CPCZ Central Committee and its bodies, but they justly criticize the fact that a number of tasks and shortcomings are being resolved only slowly, and that no conclusions are being drawn from the failure to accomplish the tasks. This problem is becoming more and more urgent. Solving it is an important political issue, one involving the party's authority in society and the confidence that its decisions will also be implemented. That is why we place so much emphasis on the more rapid implementation of the true division of labor—on defining the duties and responsibilities within the framework of our political system, above all in relationships between the party and the state, economic, and social agencies and institutions, so that the function, powers, and measure of independence, but also the responsibilities of all links and structures become clearly and precisely specified and provided for via the necessary democratic mechanisms.

Attention to the Comprehensive Restructuring of Our Economic Mechanism [subhead]

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat are currently devoting great attention to the comprehensive restructuring of our economic mechanism. A number of decisions have been adopted in order to speed up this process. Our main concern is to establish favorable prerequisites, enabling the new mechanism of management and planning to be in full operation already at the beginning of the next 5-year period.

The basic political and legal prerequisites for this course have already been established. On the government's proposal, the Federal Assembly has passed the laws on state enterprises, cooperatives, economic contacts with abroad, and state arbitration, and also adopted an amendment of the economic code. The amendment of the labor code has been the subject of broad public discussion. On the basis of its results and on the basis of the stands adopted by the National All-Trade Union Conference, the CSSR Government is now preparing a final draft, which it will submit to the Federal Assembly. At its autumn session the Federal Assembly will also discuss the law on enterprises operating with the involvement of foreign capital, the amended law on levies to the state budget, and laws on the agricultural and income taxes. As for the new law on national economic planning, it is being prepared so as to enable the government proposal to be submitted to the Federal Assembly in Spring 1989.

Work on restructuring wholesale and procurement prices is currently being concluded, and the final result is to become valid on 1 January 1989. This will be an extremely weighty measure; and, in view of the persistent failure to accomplish the planned tasks in terms of quality, its implementation will be a very complicated matter. That is why it has been necessary to make corrections in some of the original intentions (which were meant to reflect the changes in the real conditions of our economy). Nevertheless, the restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices and their regular adjustment to the situation during the coming years will be one of the basic measures in carrying out the economic reform.

The Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session was followed by the first steps in restructuring the organizational structure of the production-technical, scientific-research, and circulation base of our national economy. By 1 July 1988 the first state enterprises had already been established; they are now electing their self-management bodies and directors. At the same time proposals are being prepared for setting up further state enterprises by 1 January 1989; in this way the entire process can be concluded by 1 July 1989.

The first stage of restructuring the organizational structures will undoubtedly establish prerequisites for rationalizing our production and circulation base. However,

certain significant shortcomings have appeared—such as the endeavor to preserve under the name "state enterprises" the existing structures of economic production units (VHJs), together with their monopoly status in production and on the market. In some instances the general management offices put pressure on those enterprises that wanted to become independent, even when the conditions were appropriate for the enterprises to do so. Moreover, individual proposals to set up state enterprises were not sufficiently taken into account. On the other hand we could notice attempts to assert local interests, in an effort to create the largest possible number of independent economic organizations on the territory in question, regardless of the interests and needs of our society as a whole. This must teach us a lesson. In this matter the party agencies and organizations on all management levels must be true guardians of society-wide interests, capable of helping to explain incorrect views and ideas, and (if necessary) also to support the right proposals.

Involvement of Working People in Management [subhead]

As far as the elections of the self-management bodies and directors is concerned, it can be seen that where they were well prepared they became an important instrument for extensively involving both work collectives and individuals in the process of the management and administration of enterprises, and for increasing their interest in good management. However, formalistic approaches cropped up here too. The determined principle that two or more suitable candidates be nominated in electing a director was not observed in a number of places. Things often had to be put right as high up as at the level of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee. Also the requirement that as many members of a work collective as possible take part—directly or through delegates—in the elections was not observed everywhere.

Another desirable thing is to see to it that the preparations and the election itself do not become merely an organizational matter, but are connected to a greater extent with clarifying the purpose and principles of socialist self-management. Thus far, the role of the councils of work collectives as the defender of the interests of the working people against economic management has been stressed in many quarters, a matter which is, above all, the task of trade unions. What is being ignored in this respect is the coresponsibility of the self-management bodies for the profitable management of enterprises, for dovetailing the interests of enterprises with national needs, and for the consistent and comprehensive implementation of the Law on State Enterprises in practice. From this there arise exacting demands in respect of the cadre composition of the councils of work collectives. This is all the more important since during the transition to self-financing there has been an unacceptable tendency in some enterprises to manufacture only expensive products, press for price hikes, and attempt to drop from production programs less profitable products regardless the real needs of the people and the national economy.

We must draw a lesson from our experience for the second stage of organizational restructuring, which will gradually—until the middle of 1989—include the remaining almost two thirds, that is, the decisive part of the production-technical, scientific-research, and circulation base of the national economy.

In the interest of ensuring the party influence and the unification of party forces in state enterprises, the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat last June adopted principles for testing new forms of the party's organizational structure in state enterprises. The important thing now is to fully develop the activity of the party committees, and the appropriate party bodies, giving them systematic and effective assistance and generalizing the experience acquired from their work. It will also be necessary to figure out how to—in terms of cadres—strengthen the functions of the chairmen of party committees with experienced political workers from district and regional committees, as well as from the CPCZ and the CPSL Central Committees.

The process of the reorganization of the central bodies has been accelerated in parallel with the restructuring of the enterprise sphere. However, until now, no desirable changes have occurred in the most important aspect—in the content, style, and methods of the central bodies' work, so that they become truly a unified national economic management center. We will have to concentrate far more attention on this in the coming period. It is necessary that they, too, implement the Law on State Enterprises. Of course, we do not favor hasty and ill-conceived solutions, but here too it fully applies that half-baked measures and formalism would be the greatest danger. The set task, together with reducing the number of employees, vacating office space and buildings and using them as apartments, placing them at the disposal of services, turning them into social, health, cultural, and other facilities, is not being sufficiently coped with yet. This will have to be rectified.

The Decisive Thing Is the Fulfillment of This Year's Plan [subhead]

In accordance with the Central Committee's line, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat put stress on the acceleration of the economic reform and on the preparations for the management under new conditions being connected with the effort to fulfill the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, especially this year's tasks. We have not succeeded in this everywhere, however. More attention is still being paid to organizational and cadre issues, even though, of course, they are important too. This should not lead to slackening efforts to responsibly ensure social and economic tasks; all the more so since the results which we achieved in the first 9 months of the

year confirm that although the basic indicators—especially the volume indicators—are being fulfilled, serious shortcomings persist in respect of the fulfillment of the qualitative indicators, which are of decisive importance for the intensification of the economy. We do not ignore the fact that some objective influences are at work here, but we must not overlook serious subjective shortcomings. In some places it even looks as if they have already "written off" the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Another thing is that one should not always just demand things, shift the blame onto others, and not pay attention to increasing one's own share in creating resources. Such an attitude has nothing in common with the party policy, with the interests of our society, and the needs of the people. It makes resolving problems that have accompanied the development of our national economy for a long time more difficult, and it deepens the imbalance of our reproduction process.

This has grave consequences in the—rightly—criticized breakdowns in material-technical provisions, supplier-user relations, and in the supply of the domestic market, where—despite the increasing sales—there has not been desirable improvement. This also has been caused by the fact that the implementation of the measures adopted to stabilize the domestic market in the 1988-90 period, as discussed at the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session, is only proceeding slowly. Tasks are not being ensured comprehensively, with sufficient responsibility, and with the necessary initiative. We have not been successful in more effectively mobilizing untapped potential and making use of all available resources to increase deliveries of consumer goods. Solutions are frequently sought only in imports, even at the cost of going into debt. We must avoid that. Naturally, consumer goods have to be imported too. However, the decisive thing must be the orientation toward imports of modern production technologies. In the interest of the stability of the domestic market, we must definitely stop excusing shortcomings, marking time, anonymity, making excuses. In a number of cases, which have recently been the subject of criticism, we were able to convince ourselves that not only objective reasons, but concrete people too were behind those shortcomings. Shortcomings on the domestic market negatively influence the attitude of the people toward restructuring and the democratization of society, toward the implementation of social and economic tasks.

At all levels of management, and at all worksites—beginning with the center—we must openly and critically analyze the causes of shortcomings, ascertain who is responsible for the situation, and draw the appropriate conclusions. There are quite a number of causes, of course. There are shortcomings in the activity of the enterprise sphere and the middle components of management. In quite a few cases it is also the trade organizations that contribute to these shortcomings by their irresponsible attitude, particularly to the planning of needs. However, the central bodies, including the governments, bear their share of responsibility too. Criticism of them as well as criticism of individual ministers has clearly increased of late among the public. Distinctly critical voices resounded also at the recent statewide all-trade union conference. Also, appearances by some ministers on television did not help to increase the authority of the central bodies. One has to realize that all this also influences the authority of the party, and people's faith in its policy.

The decisive thing, to which we must currently pay attention, is the fulfillment of this year's plan, especially in the qualitative indicators and the range of products, and the preparation of the 1989 plan.

Development of Socialist Democracy [subhead]

Following the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session, the attention of the bodies of the CPCZ Central Committee has been oriented, among other things, toward deepening the process of social restructuring on the basis, above all, of the development of socialist democracy; political, work, and civic commitment of the people; and of increasing their participation in the management and administration of society.

The measures to activate the National Front and enhance its role in creating, implementing, and supervising policy which was discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee and approved by the joint session of the Central Committees of the CSSR, Czech, and Slovak National Fronts, are beginning to be gradually implemented in practice. The necessary turn has not occurred yet, of course.

The highest bodies of some social organizations of the National Front held meetings in recent months, which reaffirmed their support for the course embarked upon by our party. The meetings confirmed that organizations of the National Front were striving to find their place in restructuring and the democratization of our society.

One of the most important events, without doubt, was the statewide all-trade union conference. Communists in trade unions and the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium paid great attention to its preparation. The conference expressed unequivocal support for the line of the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions and the trade union's determination to take part in the implementation of the party policy. It fully supported restructuring, the self-management system, the democratization of our society, and took a constructive stand on the draft amendment to the Labor Code. Problems connected with our society's economic and cultural development and the implementation of the social rights and interests of the working people were discussed openly and critically at the conference. It also emphatically underscored the share and the responsibility of trade unions for eliminating the discrepancy between words and deeds, and for a more resolute implementation of the line of the 17th Congress, whose details were specified at the Seventh and Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions.

Restructuring has also put forward a number of questions which must be resolved in the activity of the national committees. The Central Committee Presidium addressed the role of the national committees in the development of socialist democracy and tasks arising for them from comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism. We discussed the governments' measures to strengthen the powers and accountability of national committees for the comprehensive economic and social development of regions and create the necessary economic conditions for their further development. The adopted measures constitute a further step toward strengthening the powers and accountability of—in particular—the primary level of national committees, developing their self-management nature, and expanding the scope for citizens to participate directly in decision-making on fundamental issues connected with the development of villages and cities. The Law on National Committees, which the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council approved at their meetings, was also amended. The purpose of the amendments is to enshrine the new demands on the status, mission, and activity of national committees under the conditions of the operation of the Law on State Enterprises, restructuring, and democratization.

We see the foundation of national committees' self-management status in their being able to rely on economic independence and their own income. It will be necessary to speedily resolve these questions.

Proposals for the perfection of general elections, including the amendment of election laws, are also being prepared. They are intended to broaden the democratic principles for the selection and election of deputies. Laws on the agenda of the Federal Assembly and the status of deputies of legislative bodies, which are currently being discussed by deputies, will help to strengthen the legislative bodies' authority.

Restructuring With Deeds, Not With Words [subhead]

On the whole, one can say that since the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Session a lot of work has been done in the party and society in developing the process of restructuring and democratization. The interest of the people in public affairs has risen, and their approach to the solution of topical tasks connected with society's development is gradually becoming an active one. The course on which the party has embarked has the support of the overwhelming majority of our people. We realize, of course, that restructuring and the higher demands connected with it is not to everybody's liking. We come across displays of passivity, hesitation and marking time, skeptical voices, unwillingness to abandon complacency and stereotypes in one's approach to work and life. In practice it often looks as if we all agree with the principles that are being proclaimed, but when it comes to their being implemented in practice, the following position is taken: Let someone else do it. One also should not only be pointing out various abuses, but should combat them with concrete deeds. Experience affirms that favorable changes can be achieved quickly only when matters are tackled and their solution consistently pursued.

The situation must be realistically assessed everywhere. One must not close one's eyes to problems and shortcomings, but at the same time one must not permit them to be magnified and absolutized. One also must not evoke cheap illusions and simplify matters, and one must expect various conflicts. The thing that is needed most today is well-considered, honest, and creative work, a high degree of civic responsibility, and an active and creative attitude to the fulfillment of tasks. The foremost duty of all Communists is to support and stimulate such attitudes and, above all, implement them in practice by personal example. That applies also to us, members of the Central Committee.

When assessing the situation in our society, we keep in mind that those in our country who have never been keen on socialism are also trying to parasitize on the process of restructuring and, especially, on the deepening of socialist democracy. In connection with the historical anniversaries that we all shall be commemorating this year, in particular, there has been a certain activation of forces pursuing the destabilization of society, whose activity is extensively supported and directly organized from abroad, especially by the Western media. There have also been attempts to misuse believing citizens' religious feelings against socialism. We stated our position on those issues, among others, in the information the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat sent to party bodies and organizations.

Our political system, the firm foundation of which is the National Front, provides broad scope for the implementation of socialist democracy. We are for pluralism, for pluralism of opinions, but not for the formation and activity of antisocialist political structures. That must be quite clear to everybody. This would be against the innermost interests of our people. The struggle against these forces is not, and cannot be, an affair of administrative measures alone. Here, too, the decisive thing is systematic political and ideological activity, especially in respect of young people, and the activation of Communists and all honest citizens. Without winning people, without their active support for our policy, the set targets cannot be ensured.

We are meeting at a time when we will shortly be commemorating important events in the history of our nations and our people connected with the date 28 October. That day became the symbol of the birth of an independent Czechoslovak state 70 years ago, of the nationalization in 1945, as well as the symbol of the coexistence of our two equal, fraternal nations in the spirit of the Law on Czechoslovak Federation, adopted 20 years ago. These were also reasons which led to 28 October being proclaimed the National Day of the CSSR. We want to recall in a dignified manner the 70th anniversary of the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic

at a joint solemn session of the CPCZ Central Committee and the highest state and social bodies, as well as at a rally of the working people in the capital of Prague.

A few days days ago we also commemorated the 50th anniversary of Munich which, as the consequence of the betrayal by our former Western allies and domestic bourgeoisie, led to the liquidation of Czechoslovakia and the fascist occupation. We have drawn an enduring lesson from this. The firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union is the guarantee of our security and independence.

We Are Interested in Peaceful Cooperation [subhead]

Milos Jakes stressed that in the implementation of the contemporary revolutionary tasks, too, we rely on the cooperation and experience of the Soviet Union, which today marches at the head of the changes oriented toward strengthening socialism. We are making use of the experience of the other socialist countries too. The conclusions of the 44th CEMA session, which was held in Prague this year, is an important contribution to the strengthening of the unity and cooperation of the socialist states, to the intensification of their economic cooperation. The session adopted important documents concerning the concept of the collective socialist division of labor, restructuring of the mechanism of CEMA's cooperation and activity, and gradual creation of a common socialist market. Concrete conclusions were adopted in respect of the realization of our share, and these must be consistently implemented.

The fact that positive changes are occurring in the situation in the world thanks, above all, to the Soviet Union and its offensive peace policy, which has been meeting with ever increasing sympathy among broad circles of the international public, is of exceptional importance for our further advancement. We welcomed the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. The foreign-political activity of the socialist countries was developed further at the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states in Warsaw. This session formulated priority tasks in the sphere of disarmament, and the adopted document on the impact of arms buildup on the environment again expressed the determination of the countries of the socialist community to take an active part in a broad international cooperation aimed at resolving the global problems of contemporary mankind.

We are vitally interested in the process of disarmament, relaxation of tension, and strengthening of trust in international relations being systematically developed and becoming irreversible. The Czechoslovak delegation at the United Nations, at the Vienna followup meeting, at the Geneva disarmament conference, and at other international forums adheres to these principles. These principles were implemented also during numerous meetings with leading political representatives of various countries, and representatives of international organizations and movements, who paid visits to Czechoslovakia in recent months. The talks conducted by our leading party and state officials and representatives of social organizations abroad were also intensive. In the course of these visits they presented our constructive peaceful foreign policy, which we are realizing in close coordination and cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries.

The 18th CPCZ Congress Will Be Held Earlier [subhead]

At this Central Committee session we will address the enhancement of the effectiveness of the party's ideological work under the conditions of our society's economic and social restructuring. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat paid exceptional attention to its preparation. We proceed from the fact that ideological work must clarify and ensure the implementation of our party's political course on restructuring and democratization, be closely connected with real life, with practice, and must strengthen people's socialist awareness.

At the same time, we submit to today's Central Committee session some important organizational-political issues for assessment and decision.

After a discussion in the Presidium, we recommend to the Central Committee that it advance the 18th party congress by 1 year and convene it in the first half of 1990. This issue must be decided this coming December at the latest, in order to be able to responsibly ensure tasks connected with the preparations for the congress. We proceed from the fact that important changes have recently been taking place in our party and society, and that there are outlines of new tasks, demands, and problems that we think should be assessed by a party congress. We see the purpose of this proposal in the fact that a precongress campaign could significantly help to enhance the engagement of Communists and other broad strata of citizens in the implementation of the tasks of the economic and social restructuring, in ensuring the plan of economic and social development in the interest of minimalizing shorfalls in the implementation of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The fact that the Directive for the Ninth 5-Year Plan could be discussed before the beginning of the new 5-year plan, would also be an advantage. The condition for the realization of this intention is a quality preparation of all appropriate congress documents so that the the most important ones are submitted in time for public discussion. In this connection we also submit a proposal for the establishment and composition of a CPCZ Central Committee commission for working out the CPCZ program and a party Central Committee commission for the preparation of the draft of amendment to the party statutes.

Regarding general elections to representative bodies at all levels, which are always held after party congresses, we presume that they will be held in their due term. It will be necessary to weigh proposals for dates separating

the holding of elections to the Federal Assembly, the Czech National Council, and the Slovak National Council, and the election campaign connected with them, which will be oriented toward resolving statewide issues, beginning with elections to national committees, where attention is concentrated on local problems.

Expanding the Number of CPCZ Central Committee Commissions [subhead]

We further submit—as stated in the documentation which you have at your disposal—a proposal to expand the number of the CPCZ Central Committee commissions and their cadre composition, including nominations of chairmen, for the posts of which secretaries of the party Central Committee are overwhelmingly recommended. The objective—as we discussed at the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee—is to create better conditions for the fuller involvement by members and candidate members, as well as non-members of the Central Committee, including experts without party affiliation, in the creation, realization, and control of party policy, especially from the viewpoint of more effectively ensuring the process of restructuring and democratization, and also of the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. In the establishment of the aforementioned commissions we also see a significant step toward strengthening pragmatism, efficiency, and democratism in the work of the party Central Committee. Connected with this are also two other proposals, which are contained in your documentation, namely, the draft of the Rules of Procedure of the CPCZ Central Committee and the draft of the Principles of Activity of the CPCZ Central Committee's Standing Commissions.

About the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR [subhead]

Further, we recommend to the Central Committee that it assess a proposal on setting up a Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR and on the composition of this committee. Here I would like to stress that what is involved is in no case the federalization of the party, but the creation of—until now lacking—a territorial body of the united CPCZ in the Czech SR. That does not mean that we are creating a Czech Communist Party. The proposed measure rests on Article 20 of the party statutes. It creates—while fully respecting democratic centralism, and the ideological, organizational, political, action, and international unity of the party—conditions for improving party work in resolving tasks of a national and regional nature, for strengthening the party influence on the activity of state, economic, and social bodies and institutions in the Czech SR, and for more efficiently developing political work in the lower components of the party structure. This, among other things, pursues the strengthening of relations between our nations and party unity.

The committee, headed by a chairman and two secretaries, will have 16 members. Nominated as members of the committee are Communists—leading functionaries of state and social bodies in the Czech SR, leading secretaries and other party functionaries from all regions of the Czech SR. The committee will have the necessary small apparatus consisting of staffers transferred from the CPCZ Central Committee. At the same time, to ensure the needs of the committee, use will be made of some of the CPCZ Central Committee departments, with the provision that the overall number of staffers of the Central Committee apparatus will be reduced. Similarly, it is presumed that the next session of the CPCZ's Central Control and Auditing Commission will discuss and elect a commission for the party's control and auditing activity in the Czech SR. The solution of principle with regard to the system of party structure in the two republics will be part of the amendment to the party statutes which will be submitted to the 18th CPCZ Congress. In the process, account will be taken of experiences acquired by that time.

In connection with the unfolding of work on the preparation of the new CSSR Constitution, we submit to the Central Committee for assessment a proposal on the composition of the appropriate commission of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, which would be in charge of the work. This proposal will be submitted to the next session of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front for approval. We assume that the political-legal principles of the new constitution will be assessed in a public discussion.

Some Cadre Proposals [subhead]

In another part of his speech, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke about cadre questions. He informed the Central Committee about the request by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR premier, to be released from those posts. On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, he recommended that Comrade Strougal's request be complied with, and in this connection he expressed appreciation for his longlasting selfless work in high party and state functions, his activity in the Federal Government, the premier of which he has been for many years, his active role in the process of consolidation after the period of crisis, and his considerable share in the formulation and realization of the Communist Party policy.

Comrade Jakes also informed the Central Committee that Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and of the CPSL Central Committee, CSSR deputy premier and premier of the Slovak SR, had requested to be released from those functions. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recommends to the Central Committee that it comply with his request. On

this opportunity, Comrade Jakes expressed thanks to Comrade Colotka for his work and his active participation in the formulation and realization of the party policy.

At the same time, Comrade Jakes substantiated further cadre proposals submitted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to the Central Committee They concern changes in the composition of the Presidium, Secretariat, and secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Government of the CSSR, the Czech SR, and the Slovak SR. He stressed that the submitted proposals pursue—in the spirit of the conclusions of the Seventh and the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Sessions—the further improvement of the work of the party and state bodies, and their rejuvenation. They proceed from the need to deploy new cadres in the interest of coping with the demanding tasks of the economic and social restructuring.

We expect of Communists in governments that they will consistently ensure tasks connected with the acceleration of social and economic development, economic reform, restructuring of the economy, that they will resolve practical problems more resolutely, develop governments' organizational work, and will closely check the fulfillment of adopted decisions. We will put great demands on the work of governments and fully support their activities, but we also will systematically assess the results, the work of the individual ministers, and where it can be seen that the commissioned comrades have been fulfilling their functions inadequately, we will recommend drawing cadre conclusions.

We regard the proposed changes in party bodies and governments as an important step toward creating one of the important conditions for enhancing the effectiveness of their work, Comrade Milos Jakes stressed in conclusion.

Jakes Delivers Closing Speech

AU1410210188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Oct 88 p 1

["Closing Speech by Comrade Milos Jakes," general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session, held in Prague on 11 October: "Changes in the Way of Thinking and Doing Things Are Decisive"]

[Text] Comrades,

We are winding up the 10th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. We have dealt with important aspects of ideological work, in the development of which the party plays an irreplaceable role. The Central Committee also adopted a number of decisions concerning important organizational, political, and cadre issues.

Great appreciation must be voiced for the general course of the Central Committee's deliberations, for the frank, businesslike, and constructive discussion, in which 31 comrades took the floor. A number of critical observations and ideas were raised, which the Central Committee Presidium will assess.

The session demonstrated the complete unity of the Central Committee as regards both the assessment of the preceding period and views about the further course of action to be taken in tackling the tasks of economic and social restructuring and developing ideological work, as discussed in the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium delivered by Comrade Jan Fojtik. This unity also found its expression in the adopted resolutions.

I would like to convey thanks to the Central Committee for its support of the submitted cadre proposals and its approval of the report on the activity of Central Committee bodies since the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Reacting to the Problems of Life Truthfully and in Due Course [subhead]

The need to put the problems of ideological work on the agenda of a Central Committee session was called forth by life itself, by the demands with which the current stage of the development of socialism confronts us. By discussing these problems we also followed up on the conclusions of the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. Many questions must be viewed from a new perspective today. We must constantly bear in mind that the tasks of revolutionary restructuring cannot be ensured in the old way. Changes in the way people think and act and their correct understanding of socialism are decisive. Without this, we would be unable to move ahead and reach the set targets. That is why, proceeding in the spirit of a creative application of our doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, we shall focus ideological work on the explication and understanding of the purpose, goals, and paths of restructuring and on reinforcing the awareness of its objective necessity and irreversibility, and its immediate relevance to satisfying the interests and needs of the people.

Ideological work also must have an edge on practical changes and ideologically prepare the ground for all major processes within restructuring, while at the same time constantly enriching itself with the findings and experiences of practical life. We see the basis of its effectiveness in its close ties with life.

We must realize that, if we fail to react truthfully and in due course to the real problems of the life of society and the people, we create scope for the influence of a different ideology, for the influence of forces that seek to discredit, weaken, and politically destabilize socialism. Ideological work must also show the immediate connection between improvement in living standards and the fulfillment of the tasks of socioeconomic development

and it must stimulate working people's initiative aimed at the fulfillment of this year's plan and the best possible safeguarding of the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Ideological work must help one to correctly understand the meaning of social justice and significantly contribute to tightening discipline and order and to the struggle against all abuses and negative manifestations that upset the moral atmosphere in society and are incompatible with genuine socialist values. Its mission is also to explain the development trends of the contemporary world and questions concerning the struggle for peace and cooperation and confidence-building in relations between nations.

Particularly important tasks lie ahead of economic propaganda, which must concentrate on elucidating the restructuring of the economic mechanism. At present it is important to train party and trade union functionaries, labor collectives' councils, and management staffs so that they fully understand the principles of economic reform, the law on state enterprises, and in-house economic accountability. This training must be done rapidly.

We have rightly stressed that raising the effectiveness of ideological work under the conditions of restructuring and democratization requires that ideological work itself, and its content, forms, and methods, be restructured. This places great demands on the qualifications of people working in this exceptionally important sphere. We must proceed from this premise also in cadre policy. An end to the underestimation of ideological work must be put everywhere. It must not be perceived parochially, as a matter concerning just the institutions that are immediately involved in propaganda, education, and culture.

Talking to the People, Explaining Party Policy [subhead]

Exerting ideological and educational influence is the concern of the entire party, of all communists. It is an integral part of the enactment of the party's avantgarde political role in society. This requires party members' good preparedness and political maturity and their ability to talk to the people, to set right incorrect views, to persuasively explain party policy, and to enlist people for its implementation by setting personal examples. Functionaries and managerial personnel at all levels, in particular, must become actively involved in ideological work and fully realize its relevance to their own activity.

Ideological work must be based on a broad, reliable scientific background, on theory. This makes it imperative, as has been stressed here, to raise the effectiveness of research in the social sciences and to more consistently focus this research on the relevant problems of society's development so that it discerns new processes and phenomena in due time, competently, and in their entire complexity and contradictions, generalizes practical experience, and provides a qualified and well-argued theoretical foundation for the adoption of political decisions.

As in other spheres, also in ideology and, in particular, in the social scientific research we must more actively expand cooperation, especially with the Soviet Union, in getting to know and in more profoundly analyzing the current stage of the development of socialism and the directions and prospects of its further development. An exceptionally valuable source of instruction in this respect are the conclusions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The demand to comprehensively study experiences from the course of the restructuring of Soviet society and to more profoundly explain and bring closer [to the Czechoslovak public] the revolutionary processes that are underway in the Soviet Union in the interest of renewing socialism and upgrading it to a qualitatively higher level, this demand applies to ideological work in its entirety.

A Number of Important Decisions [subhead]

Comrades,

At this session we made a number of important decisions in the sphere of cadres, which are aimed at a consistent implementation of the policy of restructuring and democratization. The number of members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium is being temporarily [docasne] increased and the Presidium is being rejuvenated. The basic purpose of this is to reinforce its ability to fulfill the tasks assigned to it by the Central Committee and arising from the party statutes. We have recommended that changes be carried out in the composition of the Federal Government and the governments of the two republics, in the posts of premiers, deputy premiers, and ministers.

In this connection I would like once again to convey thanks to the comrades who are departing from their posts, both in the party and in the state. To those comrades who have been elected to leading party agencies or are being proposed for high state posts I would like to wish many successes in their responsible work for the party and society. The trust they have been given by the party's Central Committee must be filled with concrete results. This means tackling problems in the socioeconomic and other spheres in a timely and energetic fashion and, at the same time, devoting attention to the conceptual preparation and implementation of the prospects of society's further development. This is what the entire party and all citizens expect of them.

As far as the governments are concerned, they are endowed with the due competence and authority, which they must fully exercise. Governments must, above all, govern. This primarily means controlling and organizing the fulfillment of the state plan, implementing needed structural changes, and establishing conditions for the

application of the new economic mechanism. They must attend to the meeting of people's realistic needs and to regular and good supplies to the domestic market, which have also at this session been subjected to criticism.

Party agencies and organizations will provide the governments and their members with their full support in this activity. The governments' effective work also establishes conditions for the party to concentrate on those functions where it is irreplaceable, on the provision of political guidance.

The CPCZ Central Committee has adopted the decision to set up a Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR. Conditions are being thereby created for, above all, reinforcing the party's influence and improving the guidance of the work of communists in the agencies and organizations of the Czech SR, as well as for the agencies of the CPCZ Central Committee to be able to concentrate more on conceptual issues and on a more effective guidance of the work of the party as a whole.

We have approved the setting up of 13 commissions of the CPCZ Central Committees. We are convinced that this will be a major contribution to improving the style and methods of work and to reinforcing the Leninist principle of collective leadership and of the principle of democracy in the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee. The point will be to make these commissions work productively and constructively, without needless paperwork. We also expect them to take a major part in the preparation of the 18th party congress.

We have agreed that it will be expedient and necessary to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress a year earlier. This makes it necessary to speed up work on its preparation. Of particular importance will be the working out of a draft CPCZ Program, the drafting of amendments to the party statutes, and the working out of a directive for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium will prepare the appropriate proposals on this basis, which will be submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee before the end of this year. I would like to recall once again that the main consideration must be to make preparations of the 18th party congress become a boost for a wide-ranging development of political, labor, and civil activity so that we are able to approach the congress with the best possible results.

The Features of a Communist—Activity, Fighting Spirit, Dedication, Exemplary Conduct [subhead]

Comrades,

The party is the guarantee of the socialist development of our society and the key to the solution of all the tasks of restructuring, democratization, and acceleration of socioeconomic development. On the basis of the resolution of the Ninth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, we must therefore raise further the level of all its work to make it play the role of a genuine avantgarde in this qualitatively new stage of the development of our society. The nature of the times is such that demands are becoming greater everywhere; for this reason, we must place high demands particularly on ourselves, on all members, candidate members, and functionaries of the party, on their activity, fighting spirit, dedication, and exemplary conduct. Adherence to principles and a high degree of communist responsibility must be demanded everywhere. A resolute action must be taken to combat shortcomings and all kinds of abuses that annoy the people, to combat bureaucratism, inertia, and conservatism. Emphasis in party life must be placed on communist ethics, honesty, and modesty.

An end must be put to phenomena such as arrogance, lack of principle, selfishness and greed, and illicit use of one's standing for personal enrichment. We have embarked upon this line and we shall implement it consistently. There is but one kind of discipline, rights, and duties in the party, which applies to everyone.

When we speak about the need to deepen the leading role of the party, this must on no account mean some sort of ordering about and substitution, but it can only mean a higher level of political guidance. The basis for increasing the party's avantgarde role lies in its unity, which is rooted in the Marxist-Leninist world view. The party's ideological unity cannot be ordered. It can only result from a broad, democratic exchange of views, comradely relations, exacting demands on one another, mutual trust and support, and the profound conviction that we are fighting for the right cause, in the interest of the people. The quality of the ideological armament of communists must be improved. The entire system of party education must serve this purpose more effectively than has been the case thus far.

Communists, in particular, must create an atmosphere conducive to a militant approach to mastering the demands placed on us by the current times. The revolutionary history of our party makes this incumbent upon us.

Let us do everything we can for the conclusions of the 10th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee to lead to the activation of the entire ideological front and to the ideological armament and unification of communists and the party as a whole in implementing economic and social restructuring. Let these conclusions find their expression in the reinforced ideological and action unity of the party and in its reinforced ties with the working people as the fundamental prerequisites for the fulfillment of our tasks, for progress in the interest of our people, the development of socialism, and the strengthening of peace.

Resolution of 10th Session Published

AU1910164588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

["Resolution of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee Session," held on 10-11 October in Prague]

[Text] On 10 and 11 October the CPCZ Central Committee discussed the orientation and tasks of ideological work in restructuring the economic mechanism and in developing socialist democracy.

It evaluated the part played by ideological work in implementing the strategic line of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the conclusions of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions, and stressed that ideological work must help to carry out social restructuring as efficiently as possible—it must help all our citizens to grasp the purpose and aims of the contemporary revolutionary process, to adopt it as their own, and to energetically participate in social transformations.

It underscored the significance of the CPSU's course, oriented toward revolutionary restructuring and the renewal of Soviet society and further developed by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The conclusions of this conference met with a broad echo and support throughout our party and our public. They are a rich source of incentives for the CPCZ's activities.

At present the primary task of ideological work is to help to establish an atmosphere which would stimulate the people's initiative and creativity and lead them to a high social involvement and responsibility for working results, as well as turn them into true economic managers and citizens devoted to socialism who have the destiny and welfare of our country at heart.

The Central Committee critically assessed our ideological work and stressed that it is essential to raise it to the level of the present demands, in harmony with our new needs. For this purpose it is necessary to restructure the work itself, to firmly link it with life, provide it with a creative Marxist-Leninist theoretical background, and establish the necessary conditions for it. This work must be oriented toward supporting the creativity of working collectives and of every individual, and fully apply the Leninist principle of open policy and of the flow of information to the general public. It must be truthful, specific, and businesslike.

Ideological work must cultivate respect for the values of our socialist society and foster honesty, a sense of truth and justice, and a sense of responsibility for the family and for bringing up children; it must promote patriotism, the awareness of solidarity and of belonging to the forces of social progress, and a humane attitude. All these attributes must be systematically and purposefully impressed upon the younger generation in particular.

In ideological work it is necessary to overcome rigidity, dogmatism, and conservatism. This work must promote the dynamic advancement of our society and rouse the people to be irreconcilable toward all obstacles that prevent the comprehensive application of the working people's creative energy and hamper social progress. This work must react to the people's vitally important, urgent questions, prepare the people for social transformations, and diagnose and point out in time the conflicts that crop up in society; it must help to harmonize the interests of individuals, collectives, and the whole society.

It must promote a more intensive democratization of our political system, develop socialist pluralism on the basis of the National Front, and elucidate the role of the national committees and the National Front. It must help the citizens to participate energetically in administration and management, defend their justified interests, and help them to grasp the connections between citizens' rights and duties. It must also provide legal education with this orientation.

The Central Committee stressed that it is the cardinal task of ideological work to continue to pay systematic attention to the issues of intensifying the comprehensive cooperation and unity of the socialist states, and to develop mutual integration processes. It underscored the increasing significance of socialist internationalism.

The Central Committee stressed the importance of the offensive struggle to bring about the new political thinking in international relations. It supported the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries (including the CSSR), oriented toward establishing a comprehensive system of international security and achieving further progress in disarmament negotiations and in the solution of the other global problems of mankind.

Ideological work must systematically proceed to explain the international situation at the present stage of the fight for the survival of mankind, for the preservation of peace, for social progress, socialism, and democracy in the world. At the same time, it should emphasize that the fight against the ideology and propaganda of anticommunism, against any ideologically alien, hostile influence among our working people must not slacken.

The CPCZ Central Committee instructs:

1—The party organizations and agencies to proceed from the report submitted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium to the session as their basic orientation in the further development of ideological work under the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism and of democratization. To adopt specific conclusions and measures for the activities of Communists in individual sectors. To purposefully strive to induce all propaganda and agitation to effectively contribute toward creating a correct understanding of the harmony between

the goals and tasks of social restructuring on the one hand, and the people's interests on the other; and to induce them to energetically participate in the revolutionary transformations. The weighty task of propaganda and agitation work is to make the people grasp that the restructuring of the economic mechanism is the essential prerequisite of the transition of our national economy from extensive to intensive development, of our achieving higher standards of economic growth on the basis of greater efficiency and quality. To orient our propaganda and agitation word, in unity with political-organizational and economic work, toward shaping the awareness of socialist managers and responsible citizens. To aid the development of self-management in enterprises and promote the correct understanding of its role and its relations with party organizations, economic management, and trade unions.

In shaping the new economic thinking, it is particularly important to understand how essential it is to change over from management by administrative methods to economic methods of economic management—to grasp the role played by all forms of social ownership, of individual economic activities, of self-management in the economic sphere, of socialist entrepreneurship, economic accountability [Russian term "khozraschet" used], and self-financing, and also of market-price relations, the market, and the plan.

Ideological work must enhance its influence on the growing responsibility placed on enterprises for meeting the needs of society. Ideological work must show greater determination in drawing attention to those who identify themselves with the restructuring process and who feel responsible for pushing through its demands in practice, to those who are paving the way for progressive ideas and products. It must consolidate respect for good work and see that it is rewarded according to merit; it must wage a determined struggle against egalitarianism and social demagogy, against manifestations of petty bourgeois morality, a consumption-oriented way of life, and all forms of parasitism and illegal enrichment. It must see to the consolidation of order and discipline in all workplaces.

The party organizations must take care of high ideological standards and the unity of contents and forms of ideological influence, ridding it of outdated methods and using differentiated approaches. They must decide about the choice of means for mass political work on their own, on the basis of their specific knowledge of the political situation and the people's living standards.

Personal agitation is the core of mass political work. Its mission is to lead the people to creativity and firm stands in life, based on socialist values and a scientific world outlook. It is essential to overcome a narrow departmental approach to agitation. In winning over all our fellow citizens to the party's policy, the most effective thing is the example of every party member at work and in life.

It is necessary that in party education every Communist assimilates the fundamental ideotheoretical starting points of the party policy, that he is acquainted with the party statutes, and that he acts in accordance with them. It is necessary to make better use of the existing system of party schools and courses, and—at present—to orient their activity toward the topical tasks of restructuring.

It is necessary to restructure the teams of lecturers in such a way as to make their composition and activity correspond with the tasks which the party is resolving, to imbue them with a creative, critical atmosphere, to make them a component which creates the necessary conditions for propaganda, journalistic work, and party education; and to enhance the level of information available to the entire party base.

It is necessary to systematically analyze the state of mind of social and age groups, public opinion, its trends, and the changes in it. In publications published by central and lower bodies it is necessary to react promptly and more effectively to important topical issues of social life and to make new findings of Marxist-Leninist theory accessible. In party bodies it is necessary to exchange experience from ideological work in the process of restructuring and to systematically generalize and make extensive use of positive examples. It is necessary to pay systematic attention to the young generation, and to strive in its education for deeper cooperation between the school and the family. Social organizations, especially the Socialist Youth Union, the management of enterprises and plants, cultural and scientific institutes, and information media, must intensify their educational effect on youth. It is necessary with joint efforts to create corresponding conditions for expediently filling children's and young people's leisure time with technical, natural sciences', and artistic hobby activities, and with sports and physical education.

In the ideological sphere it is necessary to improve work with cadres and to adapt the structure of the ideological aktiv to current needs and requirements.

2— Communists in the media to see to it that the press, radio, and television contribute in an appropriate way to the correct comprehension and consistent realization of party policy, that they be a democratic platform for public opinion and everyday, frank dialogue between the party and state and citizens. To systematically increase the standard of work of the information media's activity, improve their political-educational and organizational role. By their collaboration, to support and assert in society new ideas and present innovative approaches and positive experience from restructuring in a readily comprehensible way. To consistently implement the adopted conclusions of the document of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the application of the Leninist principle of public information, to demand of journalists a high degree of responsibility and competence, and the ability to express themselves intelligibly. To enshrine legal guarantees of public information in the

new press law which is being prepared. To make the information media an even more effective instrument of constructive criticism and public supervision. To consistently assert the principle that the ranking personnel regularly appear in the media and thus contribute to the clarification of the intentions of the the plans of the party and state in sectors that they are in charge of, and to responsibly report on results and the solution of criticized shortcomings.

To pay systematic attention to the training and education of qualified journalistic cadres and speedily resolve the problem of the lagging press, radio, and television material-technical and production base.

3—The Communists in education to bring up young people as aware socialist citizens, mold their weltanschauung, deepen their affinity for the progressive legacy of national history, educate them in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism. Lead the youth to diligence at work, responsibility, independence, creativity, a yearning for new experiences, a love for nature and to protect it, to society [as published], and to respect for the people, and to develop the youth's emotional life and sense of beauty.

4— The Communists in the scientific sector to be at the head of efforts aimed at deepening the quality, expediency, and practical use of scientific findings, and democratization in science. To create the necessary scope for scientific research, development of fruitful discussions, support creative personalities, and scientific schools. To strengthen the responsibility of all scientific personnel for what they contribute to society's development. The Communists in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, higher institutes of learning, and other research institutes must assert the highest standard of the development, above all, of discipline and research into issues that are crucial from the viewpoint of society's further development. To ensure a more effective involvement of Czechoslovak science in the international division of labor. To increase its contribution to solving the tasks of the Comprehensive Program For Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member Countries Through the Year 2000.

To direct the efforts of the social sciences toward the creative elaboration of topical theoretical issues of socialism, connected with the solution of the tasks of restructuring under the CSSR's conditions, and to eliminate from them superficiality and the quality of being divorced from practice.

To pay attention to the further development of the system of the working people's extramural studies, to disseminating scientific findings in society, to contribute to the comprehension of the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution, and to this end to make better use of the CSSR Socialist Academy and the Czechoslovak Scientific-Technical Society.

5— The Communists active in the sphere of culture and the arts to make certain that the arts and literature participate in restructuring, in the upsurge of the people's creative energy and in comprehensively satisfying their cultural needs and interests. To support the arts which enrich our society, which provide a truthful picture of the life and work of the people in their multifacetedness, and which contribute to the realization of the revolutionary transformations in our country.

The Communists in state institutions, social organizations, information media, cultural facilities and, in particular, in the artists' unions, must consistently implement in their activity socialist cultural-educational and ideo-aestethical viewpoints and, at the same time, combat the spread of poor taste, moral decadence, and negativist attitudes toward life. It is necessary to substantially improve literary and artistic criticism, to oppose the simplification of views of works of art. It is important to continue improving conditions for the participation of the people in the creation of socialist culture and to develop a national system of aesthetic education. See to the enhancement of the role of architecture and town planning, to the development of the entire material culture.

To strive to provide proper social support for the humanitarian impact of socialist culture. To resolutely counter unhealthy commercial tendencies. To see to the proper maintenance of cultural institutions and to establish the necessary conditions for their working collectives.

The successful fulfillment of the restructuring program in our society demands that our ideological work pave the way for new progressive ideas and goals, contribute toward unifying the entire society, consolidate the citizens' socialist convictions, strengthen their faith in the future, and give them strength for work benefiting our socialist fatherland. In order to enable the party to successfully play the role of political and spiritual vanguard of our society, it is essential to strengthen its ideological and action unity, see to the political and moral growth of its cadres, and to systematically improve the quality of its membership base.

The CPCZ Central Committee is convinced that the Communists and all party agencies and organizations will make consistent provisions for the implementation of conclusions adopted by the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session.

The CPCZ Central Committee approves:

1. the evaluation of the party's activities since the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session and its tasks for the next period, as presented by Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary;

2. the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report "Developing Ideological Work and Upgrading It to the Level of Present Demands," presented by Comrade Jan Fojtik;

3. the report on activities of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Secretariat, and commissions in the period since the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session in April 1988;

4. the Rules of Procedure for the CPCZ Central Committee;

5. the amended scale and principles of the payment of CPCZ membership dues;

6. the establishment of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR;

7. the principles governing the activities of the CPCZ Central Committee's permanent commissions;

8. the composition of the CPCZ Central Committee's permanent commissions;

9. the composition of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for CPCZ Program Elaboration; and

10. the composition of the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for the Preparation of CPCZ Statutes;

and acknowledges:

the political-organizational provisions for conclusions adopted by the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Premier Adamec Addresses New Government 13 Oct
AU1810143788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 88 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Held Session"]

[Text] Prague— The CSSR Government held its constituent meeting in Prague on Thursday [13 October]. The introductory speech was given by the premier, Ladislav Adamec.

Our first meeting, he said by way of introduction, is taking place shortly after the 10th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which adopted a standpoint on the implementation of the conclusions of the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, on the implementation of the economic reform, restructuring, and democratization of the life of society. The resolution on ideological work, too, is aimed at ensuring citizens' active part in social transformations. Comrade Jakes spoke in his speech about the importance of the CPSU's experiences from restructuring and about the inspiration provided by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference for the solution of our tasks, especially those that are connected with the preparation of the 18th CPCZ Congress.

The report and debate produced harsh criticism of a number of sectors for which we bear responsibility and a number of suggestions were made on how to improve the activity of the Governments and ministries, he continued. We must deal thoroughly with all these matters. It is our duty to respond to all suggestions and demands as soon as possible, not by merely endorsing the ideas of the 10th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee but by vigorous efforts to remedy the situation in the criticized sectors, by drawing up well-thought-out measures, and by making headway where it is within our powers and potentials. At the same time, where objective reasons make it impossible for the time being to change the situation, we must say so openly.

The response to the extensive changes in the composition of the Government has been good; citizens regard them as a confirmation that the critical voices were warranted. However, the people will not judge the Governments by the number of personnel changes but by the results achieved. This expectation must not be disappointed. We must win and deserve trust. Right from the first day the public in our country, in the fraternal countries, and the rest of the world must see that we are capable of tackling things in a purposeful, energetic, and consistent manner, at the level which the communist party, the National Front, and society as a whole require of us.

We are well aware of the complexity of the situation, we know that our task will not be an easy one. I want to stress with full responsibility that present approaches will no longer do. We shall make use of valuable experiences but we can carry out restructuring only by using new forms and methods of work. There is nothing to wait for and to rely on in this respect. The course of action of the lower-level elements, the conduct of enterprises, labor collectives, and the staff of the entire state administration, depend to a considerable extent on us, on the example set at the top.

The role of the socialist state is growing, and will continue to grow, in the process of restructuring, in the interest of its implementation. This applies, in particular, to the role of the Federal Government as the state's central economic body. We must discharge the duties assigned to us by the constitution in all sectors without exception, both as a collective body and as individuals.

He emphasized, furthermore, a rational division of labor and duties between party, state, and economic bodies and social organizations. This is also the way to raise the efficiency of our work. The issue in our country, too, is to create a socialist legal society based on the unity of aims and on everyone's responsibility for his work—government members in the first place. Such approaches will permit a faster pace of restructuring because they will

lead to the overcoming of noxious buck-passing, responsibility-dodging, anonymity, and laying the blame on other peoples' shoulders. By tolerating such phenomena we would be undermining the very foundations of restructuring.

He described a changed approach to the very mission of the Government and to the role of its individual members as the crucial condition for upgrading the quality of our work to the level of the steadily growing requirements. The administrative-command system of management permitted and fostered departmental barriers [resortismus]. This will have to be overcome because it is one of the widespread, deeply ingrained, and very harmful phenomena. It undermines the status of the Government as a representative of national interests and leads to the squandering of resources on the one hand and to the restriction of warranted needs on the other. The work of all ministries must be judged by the final effect— by citizens' satisfaction with services of all sorts, with the quality of goods on the market, with the way official matters are processed, with the fair conduct of state bodies in every locality. We cannot just present the public with figures on the implementation of certain indicators of the plan; what is crucial is the level at which their needs are genuinely met.

Even in the conditions of the reinforced independence of the basic links of the economically accountable sphere, the management of society from one center is indispensable. The Government cannot, therefore, be perceived as some sort of a collegium of branch representatives. It is the supreme collective executive body of state administration in the CSSR. Each member of the Government is charged with the supervision of a designated branch, for which he is fully responsible. At the same time, however, he shares responsibility for the overall activity of the Government, Ladislav Adamec stressed.

The need to overcome departmental barriers, between branches as well as between sectors, also applies to the old-new problem of supplier-user relations. It must not happen that even within the framework of a single ministry issues remain unresolved.

Combatting departmental barriers also requires overcoming the wasteful duplication [dvoukolejnost] of branch and regional planning. Let us jointly ponder ways of avoiding the submitting of reports to the Government that are conceived from a narrowly economic point of view and that are deficient in comprehensiveness, failing to take sufficient account of regional and social considerations. The solution of sociopolitical matters must to a greater extent be linked with their possible impact on economic factors and decisions on practical, organically scientific-technical problems must to a greater extent than heretofore be tied up with the role of the human factor, with the qualification and effective motivation of labor collectives and with the quality of cadres.

We must learn to put the tools of moral and material incentives to a more efficient use. We must not rely just on the force of resolutions, but must implement Government decisions using effective motivation and stimulation of the people. We must continually ask ourselves the following questions: How forceful an interest does this or that measure elicit, who benefits from the measure, and who does not. In short, we must think more of the people, of their reactions, thinking, and behavior.

It is important, he went on to say, to step up regular, businesslike, informal, and mutually demanding cooperation with bodies in the republics. Decisions from federal positions must not be to the detriment of the legitimate interests of the republics. The needs of intensification and restructuring also cast a new light on the approach to equalizing the socioeconomic level of Slovakia with that of the Czech SR.

The principles of the new economic mechanism will require a reinforced orientation toward strategic decisions and a reduction in the number of day-to-day interventions. We are facing the need to more successfully cope with the intricacies of the period of transition. The existing system of management and its instruments are falling out of use. The new mechanism of management in the economy and other social spheres is only just taking shape. Old and new elements are operating next to each other. This is why we must lean, albeit only temporarily and to a limited extent, on operative interventions into the economically accountable sphere. However, this can be done only in truly justified cases where there is no other way and where temporizing would jeopardize the goals of restructuring. We cannot just idly look upon manifestations of wasteful management, disorder, and other negative phenomena, all the more so as the public's demands to remedy shortcomings, such as those that were rightly criticized at the recent all-trade union conference, are growing in strength. The Government cannot remain silent when shoddy production is tolerated, when goods are missing on shop counters for no good reason, when protective labor gear is in short supply, when there are hitches in the supply of medicines, or when dissatisfaction with transportation to and from work is growing. We cannot afford to remedy everything, but we shall not tolerate disorder, bad organization, or indifference. The majority of citizens will surely understand and support us on this point.

However, we do not want to deal with these and other matters hastily and without due deliberation but so that their solution should promote our long-range intentions. The elaboration of strategic intentions will gradually form the focal point and principal content of our work. Lying ahead of us is the responsible preparation of a number of important programmatic documents— the long-term outlook for the scientific-technical, economic, and social development of the CSSR, the Ninth 5-Year Plan, the new CSSR Constitution, new codes of law, and so forth. The key and, at the same time, most difficult

task is the ability to achieve a symbiosis between long-range and immediate matters in day-to-day decisions. Neither must be neglected at the cost of the other. The Government must act neither at the expense of today nor at the expense of tomorrow.

In the interest of the Government's more conceptual work, it is necessary to shed the habit of dealing with economic questions only from the viewpoint of one 5-year plan or even one single year. It is true that day-to-day management allowed us to reach certain results relatively soon; however, longer-term practice then often revealed the one-sidedness of the decisions adopted. Life demands that we adopt an approach that is based on a long-term strategy and which respects changes in the evolution of science and technology. The situation with regard to the new Favorit car is, from this point of view, a warning example. However, it is definitely not only a matter for the motor industry. Strategic thinking must be based on wide social considerations and comprehensive approaches. The assessment of long-term forecasts now in preparation establishes the prerequisites for this. We need an economic strategy not only at the level of the Government and individual branch ministries, but also in enterprises. We must help them devise this strategy.

From now on, we will also be unable to tolerate the habit of making excessive use of administrative methods of management, a habit that lingers on. The reliance on bans and orders of all sorts continues to be great. Many resolutions do more to limit initiative and the scope for entrepreneurship than to give a boost to them. The economy must be managed primarily by economic methods. We all know how many management links function inadequately, even though there are enough instruments, financial ones and others. However, are we always able to put them to good use? Are we not lagging behind in their improvement? Are we capable of combining them in an expedient manner? I do not want to give a ready answer; but life requires that here, too, we move ahead—not by a tiny step but by a big stride.

In connection with our limited resources and the size of demands and people's expectations, some of us may be asking whether our targets are realistic, Ladislav Adamec said in conclusion.

Many things are predetermined by the inadequate structure of the economy, the investment policy pursued thus far, and by well-grooved production programs. The inertia of organizational structures, methods of management, and ways of thinking is tying our hands. We shall not create a new economy overnight, nor shall we get rid of all the remnants of the past in a day. Nevertheless, there is much we can do. We have considerable resources at our disposal to alter the situation. Needless to say, this will not happen immediately and all at once, but rather gradually and over a period of time. It will not take place without obstacles, disputes, and conflicts, but none of this is insurmountable or impossible to master.

In the subsequent debate, individual members of the federal government expressed support for the introductory address, appreciating its frankness and specific and rational character. They endorsed the proposed methods and forms of work and stressed the need to concentrate on the main problems of our society and their comprehensive solution in close coordination with party, state, and economic bodies as well as with National Front organizations.

Shortcomings in supplies to the domestic market, in particular, which citizens rightly criticize, must have attention focused on them. The tertiary sphere, too, must more actively approach their solution. They assured the CSSR premier that in the sectors under their jurisdiction they will do everything they can to speed up the process of the restructuring and democratization of our society.

Adamec Addresses Czech Sports Association

AU1210163788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Oct 88 p 2

["From the Speech by Ladislav Adamec," member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech SR, at the Congress of the Czech organization of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association in Prague on 8 October]

[Excerpts] Opening his address, Comrade Ladislav Adamec recalled that the program of restructuring proceeds from our needs and builds on our own revolutionary traditions. It enjoys people's support because it conforms to their experiences and gives an answer to their questions about which direction leads to the fulfillment of their hopes and aspirations. He went on to say, among other things:

However, the pace of construction is not sufficient everywhere. Like every big thing, it runs up against a number of obstacles, the reluctance to abandon accustomed grooves, comfort seeking, and the fear of taking a wrong step or running a risk. One cannot take the path of making only small adjustments. Advancement is possible only by revolutionary means—by energetically overcoming shortcomings, mapping out bold tasks, and consistently translating them into life. The struggle to assert the tasks of restructuring is mainly a struggle to win people's trust and support.

The transition from the prevalent administrative management toward economic management is very complicated. It requires ridding oneself of habits ingrained over long years and of a passive waiting for directives, specifications, and quotas from above, and it requires focusing one's attention on the use of economic independence, assumption of responsibility, and genuine entrepreneurship. This is definitely not just an organizational and methodological matter, but also a political one.

What I have said also applies to physical education clubs. In the future they will not be able to rely just on subsidies, but will have to seek a steadily growing degree of self-financing. Possibilities abound, especially in the provision of all kinds of services. Some attractive fields of recreational physical education, too, could be a source of income. There is also no reason why all outlays on individual hobbies in certain cost-intensive types of performance sports should be defrayed from state funds. This is in line with the principles of social justice. [passage omitted]

In the past, excessive use of administrative methods also became the accepted practice in the management of physical education. But even in this sector economic ties could not be completely suppressed. The situation in which regulations conflicted with the established practice needlessly even placed honest people in complicated situations, weakened confidence in the law, and promoted two sets of morals. Yet this does not mean that record keeping and control should be weakened.

We must be realistic, however, and reckon that every transition from one system of management to another does not bring any immediate radical changes for the better. Quite the contrary, temporarily it complicates the situation and requires much extra energy and stamina. This is what we must frankly say to forestall impatience and frustration, which in the past often led to retreat in the face of difficulties. Any repetition of something like that today would bring immense damage.

This is why the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee adopted the line of accelerating the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the democratization of social life. The continued use of the methods of management that have been applied until now would not halt the deepening of negative phenomena. Through loss of time, pace, and prospects we would put the party, the state, and the people, the young generation in particular, into a scarcely solvable situation. Many things have been delayed for much too long. The distrust of our ability to tackle, in a principled fashion, issues that have come to a head and to establish order even at the price of unpopular measures is all the greater. Revolutionary responsibility is at stake, which overrides all personal interests. The CPCZ believes the gist of the content and objectives of ideological work lies in the assertion of this basic truth within the general public.

In the past, the causes of the nonfulfillment of many correct intentions lay in underestimating a thorough knowledge of people's views, feelings, and attitudes. Inadequate use was also made of the educational potentials of special interest activities. Physical education and sports hold an important place in the young people's scale of values.

The party consistently implements a policy of enlisting people through persuasion, by means of informal authority and the enhancement of trust. In relation to young people, above all, we must start exercising a principled policy of openness. They are the ones who are affected most by the weaknesses that are criticized in our life, especially by the contradiction between words and deeds, tokenism, and orientation toward quantitative indicators and extensive development. Disappointing their expectations would make a severe and long-term mark on the future of our country and deeply harm the cause of socialism.

I consider it particularly relevant that all those engaged in the upbringing of the new generation should ponder what sort of young people we need and what we want from them. Giving a reply to this rather difficult question is exceedingly important for the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association, an organization of the young and for the young. We rightly strive to have youth continue along the path of socialism, bearing with dignity and determination the revolutionary torch of its predecessors. This, however, has nothing in common with repeating the older generation's aims in life, models, and patterns of thought, with uniformity of tastes and a mechanical identity of views. [passage omitted]

Adamec Speech to Prague Army Day Rally

AU1210095488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 88 p 2

["From the Statement by Ladislav Adamec," CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, CSSR deputy premier, and head of the joint delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front to the rally of working people, youth, and members of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA], held in honor of CSLA Day in Valdstejn Palace in Prague on 5 October]

[Text] Ladislav Adamec began by congratulating (at the behest of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, and the CSSR Government, and on behalf of the citizens of our fatherland) the members of the CSLA on the occasion of CSLA Day on the successes they had achieved in carrying out the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

He stressed that the battles fought during World War II for Czechoslovakia's freedom have become part of our people's most glorious revolutionary traditions. We constantly hark back to this lasting and topical school of socialist patriotism and internationalism and protect and further consolidate them. The battles at the Dukla Pass represent one of the most glorious chapters of the Czechoslovak people's struggle for national liberation against the hated fascist invaders. That is why the CSLA is celebrating its Army Day together with the Carpathian-Dukla Operation, in which the members of the First Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR took part, at the side of the glorious Soviet Army.

We will always proudly recall October 1944—the day when our soldiers first stepped onto the soil of their homeland. The immense sacrifices of both Soviet and our own soldiers (who cemented our friendship by the blood shed in common battles) will never be forgotten. Those were the battles in which the Gottwald slogans were born— "With the Soviet Union for All Time!" "With the Soviet Union, and Never Again Otherwise!" The battles of Dukla are a vivid testimony to the Soviet Army's international liberating mission and the Soviet Union's fraternal assistance to the Czech and Slovak people in their antifascist struggle. They are proof of the sacrifices by which the freedom of our nations was born, proof of how difficult it was to fulfill the working people's longings for national and social liberation.

We also feel respect for the soldiers who expressed their patriotism, their attitude toward their country's freedom, and their resistance against fascism by joining the military units on the territories of Poland, Britain, and the Middle East. Our peoples' lasting thanks and gratitude are due to all those who distinguished themselves on the battlefields of World War II.

L. Adamec then recalled that the years which have passed since the moment when the Czechoslovak and Soviet flags were hoisted together on our frontier at the Dukla Pass have been filled with significant events in the life of our nations. The people of our country live within safe borders. The working man's status has radically changed. Not a place can be found in our country where the achievements of socialism are not evident. Our society can rely on a powerful technical-production base, on developed industry and agriculture. Diligent, educated people with high cultural standards are our greatest riches.

The majority of our people are proud of the results achieved; complacency is not one of their characteristics. They know of the rapid progress in the world, and they find it difficult to tolerate evidence of backwardness. They know about the great resources and possibilities at our disposal. That is also why they are so profoundly convinced that we can do more. They maintain a healthy critical attitude and are interested in overcoming shortcomings. They are not indifferent toward our insufficiently rapid progress in many sectors. They are patient and able to grasp temporary troubles. But they find it difficult to suffer disparagement, mistrust, commandeering, half-truths, half-measures, and formalism.

It is true that not everybody is like that. But it is also true that such people are not the only ones to blame for this. Attitudes of overcautiousness and hypocrisy, of a lack of faith, of marking time have considerably affected the braking mechanism, the abyss between words and deeds, the tolerance of double morality. That is also why our citizens have welcomed the conclusions of the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions with such great hopes.

The CPCZ appreciates the broad support which its policy enjoys. However, it is not sufficient to agree with the bold orientation toward a substantially increased use of the advantages of socialism and toward the energetic elimination of everything that prevents their being fully asserted. Even the most correct principles will not become part of everyday life without the people's energetic, conscious approach. Social progress is feasible solely if we grasp both the essence and all the ramifications of contemporary struggles—only if we make a purposeful, persistent effort to foster this progress. This places extraordinary demands on the people's preparedness to undertake new tasks, on their ability to adopt the new way of thinking and to consciously participate in carrying out the revolutionary transformations, on their willingness to get rid of obsolete notions, of views which have been overcome, of all ineffective working methods, on our mastering the right approaches, which correspond to the possibilities and needs of the approaching nineties. The 10th CPCZ Central Committee session which is now under preparation will have something to say about all these problems.

We are living at a time which has its difficulties. Day after day we have to pass tests, to prove our revolutionary conviction and determination, our knowledge of Leninism, and our skill in creatively applying it on a national, but also on an international scale. In this regard the CPCZ Central Committee considers that a sincere attitude toward the Leninist course pursued by the CPSU and expressed in the program and practices of restructuring is a matter of key significance.

In the next part of his statement Ladislav Adamec dealt with certain aspects of the contemporary international situation. International relations are changing for the better, both in Europe and on other continents, he stated. This is primarily the result of new political thinking, of new approaches to the key issues of world development which are being enforced by the USSR and by other countries of the socialist community. We support all steps aimed at using solely political means to turn the positive processes into reality and to follow the road which has been embarked upon to solve all problems.

We are devoting extraordinary attention to the consolidation of security in central Europe. During the last few years, together with the SED in the GDR and the SDP in the FRG, we have been striving to create zones in central Europe which would be free of nuclear and chemical arms. Our own proposal to set up a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states also represents a specific Czechoslovak contribution to the consolidation of European security.

The favorable trends in international relations are a promise for the future; however, so far no radical turn has been achieved. Reactionary U.S. and NATO circles are still striving to pursue their feverish armament. The policy "from the positions of strength" still remains the

main instrument used by imperialist countries in their effort to reach their political goals. Dangerous plans for "armament augmentation" and "compensation" for destroyed weapons are cropping up, and new militarist programs are appearing. In a situation when we see ourselves confronted by the heavily armed armies of imperialist powers, when increasing numbers of modern new kinds of weapons (including space weapons) are being produced, we, too, have to provide for the defense ability of our state in a responsible way. That is why we are strengthening the combat and political readiness of our Army and consolidating its collaboration with the armies of the member states of the defensive Warsaw Pact.

Even under contemporary conditions we continue to emphasize the links between the Army, the people, and their construction tasks. The CSLA members' energetic participation in our social life and their close collaboration with the party and state agencies and with the social organizations of the National Front are proving to be of benefit for all sides. We highly value the Army's assistance in the accomplishment of tasks in our national economy. Our mature Army cadres (together with modern technology) have already proved on many occasions that they are prepared for extraordinary events.

The good results that have been achieved are due to the action ability of party organizations and to the activity and commitment of communists. The party's influence on all areas of the life of the troops is intensifying. As in all sectors of our social life, it is essential to take the road of comprehensive restructuring also in this sphere—and to carry out the restructuring process while respecting all the specific conditions of the organism of the Army. Not only must we refrain from letting its high standards of organization and discipline slacken, we must even tighten them. However, this must be done without introducing matters of secondary importance. The main thing will be to make the democratization of life in military collectives and the changes in the methods of management and organizational work carried out by commanders and political bodies effectively contribute toward improving the quality of the accomplishment of training and working tasks, L. Adamec said in conclusion.

Defense Minister Vaclavik Article on Army Day

AU0810173088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 88 p 3

[Article by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense: "October Sixth — Czechoslovak People's Army Day; Responsible Attitude Toward the Defense of Socialism and Peace"]

[Excerpts] We recall the memorable 6 October 1944 in the creative atmosphere of the realization of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress. That day, 44 years ago, troops of the 1st Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR, fighting side by side with the Soviet Army, entered for the first time the soil of their fatherland in the Dukla Pass area and began directly liberating Czechoslovakia. To commemorate this important historical event, 6 October has become Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] Day. [passage omitted]

Last year, above all thanks to the tenacious efforts of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community aimed at maintaining peace, halting the feverish arms buildup, and detente in the military sphere too, there was success for the first time in initiating a real process of reducing nuclear arsenals. The treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons, signed between the USSR and the United States, was a weighty step. We firmly believe that the treaty will become a stimulus for successfully winding up all negotiations aimed at disarmament and ensuring the security of states at a substantially equal level of armies, weapons, and military technology.

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states have been for quite some time now proposing to the NATO countries that an agreement be concluded on a substantial reduction of the concentration of troops and armaments in Europe. At the session of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw on 15-16 July, they reaffirmed their faithfulness to the ideals of a world without weapons of mass destruction and without violence, a world founded on principles of democratic coexistence, mutual security, and equal cooperation. In that regard, the Warsaw Pact countries submitted appropriate proposals.

Nowhere else in the world but Europe is there such a great concentration of troops and armaments. From this the countries of the socialist community draw the only realistic conclusion—one has to immediately begin disarming precisely on this continent. By gradually reducing the number of troops and conventional armaments, one has to achieve a level which would exclude the possibility of an unexpected attack, but would be sufficient to ensure one's security.

Our Czechoslovak initiative supports that proposal. The proposal to establish along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations is comprehensively oriented toward the military, political, economic, ecological, and humanitarian sphere. This Czechoslovak peace initiative, as the latest session of the Political Consultative Committee affirmed, is in full harmony with the stances of the fraternal socialist countries in the sphere of disarmament, as well as with the CSSR and GDR proposals, submitted earlier, to establish a zone without chemical and nuclear weapons. This initiative has elicited the attention and support not only of the peace-loving public, but also of realistic political circles in Europe and throughout the world.

The peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries is in no case an expression of their weakness. It stems from the new political thinking which is being asserted by the Soviet Union in international relations, from the awareness that nuclear war is the instrument for the destruction of mankind, and that the solution of all substantial problems is possible solely by means of mutual cooperation of all countries of the world community under conditions of lasting peace.

When noting some positive changes in international relations, we are not ignoring other aspects of the current developments. The struggle between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of progress of peace and the forces of reaction and war has not stopped, but continues. Its form differs in the different parts of the world.

Some representatives in the United States, despite certain positive views, confirm that for the time being they do not intend to abandon their long-term concepts, the core of which is the assertion of policy from the position of strength. They are seeking ways of achieving superiority over socialism without the risk of nuclear suicide. Proponents of militarism are terrified already by the thought that they would have to, at some stage, say goodbye to nuclear nuclear weapons and halt intensifying the arms buildup, in which they see not only the symbol of their strength and an effective instrument of their political influence on world developments, but also a lasting source of immense profits. Therefore, they continue pressing for equipping the NATO armies with new, substantially more effective weapons, including compensating for the ongoing scrapping of nuclear devices. The extent and the intensity of military exercises, too, attest to continuing war preparations.

Precisely these realities require us to remain vigilant, to continue to strengthen the moral and political unity of the Army and the people and our preparedness to defend socialism and peace. The importance and the role of the Army in ensuring the country's defense capability are not being reduced in any way. Comrade Milos Jakes expressed it tellingly when he said: "We are vitally interested in an improved international situation and we will continue taking part in improving it. At the same time we cannot ignore the fact that reactionary forces of world imperialism continue their feverish arms buildup and their policy from the position of strength. Therefore, our party will continue seeing to ensuring the defense of the state, the strengthening of the combat and political preparedness of the Army, and supplying it with material needs and cadres, seeing to its cooperation and alliance with the other armies of the Warsaw Pact."

The CSLA has been fulfilling with great responsibility the task of the 17th CPCZ Congress, according to which it must be—in close union with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact—comprehensively politically and professionally prepared to reliably defend socialist construction and the people's lives in peace. This task is the main content of all our efforts.

The results of the now ending training year show that we have done a considerable amount of work when it comes to ensuring the defense capability of the state. The Army was fulfilling its tasks under demanding conditions, in an atmosphere of creative implementation of the conclusions of the seventh and the ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions, which are the starting point for fulfilling the congress line.

Exacting analysis of existing problems and shortcomings; systematic clarification and adoption of measures aimed at rectifying the situation in the sphere of management and organizational work; discipline; and making training economical and efficient have led to a number of positive changes. These changes have been seen favorably especially in the combat and political training and exercises of troops and staffs, in an improving care for weapons and combat technology, but not markedly enough in discipline and the organization of life. Increased attention was also paid to improving soldiers' service and living conditions; just assessment of work; and their material, social, and health security. We want the restructuring under the CSLA's conditions to yield the improvement of the troops' life and a better fulfillment of tasks, especially in formations and units.

We seek at all times to strengthen the bond between the Army and the people as an expression of a common civic interest in ensuring the defense of the fatherland. Our soldiers are actively working in party and social bodies and organizations, they are helping out in the national economy. In the past training year, in addition to voluntary brigades, some 13,000 soldiers—equipped with machinery—worked more than 900,000 work days in the power engineering sector, agriculture, and other spheres. We will expand this assistance even more within the framework of our capabilities while maintaining the high demands on ensuring the Army's combat preparedness, in order to contribute to the development of the state's economy.

We want to continue increasing the Army's combat strength and its moral and political capability, perfecting the management and organizational work of commanders and political bodies, the effectiveness of the education and the training of troops, and the standard of their martial arts' mastery and technical prowess. We want to strengthen the discipline in the Army and, at the same time, increase the comprehensive care for all CSLA members.

By means of a number of new measures we are asserting greater personal responsibility, initiative, and independence of the appropriate commanders and political bodies when it comes to fulfilling the tasks of the training year and eliminating enduring shortcomings.

We continue concentrating the main effort on increasing the Army's combat readiness and preparedness, in which the main thing is the combat preparedness and daily training. Their standard is the testimony to all our efforts, to our organizational work, to our ideopolitical education, and to the party's influence.

We fully realize that the crucial prerequisite for achieving the best results is the standard of the party's political work, the strengthening of the methods of the political leadership and the energetic activity of the entire Army's party organization. Greater and more exacting tasks require new approaches at work, changing style and methods, and going over to nontraditional and more effective ways of fulfilling tasks. Even in the Army one must not rely on the omnipotence of orders and regulations alone. We are asserting the principle that one has to work with people in a differentiated manner, as much as possible individually, explain to them the purpose of measures being adopted, ask their opinions, and take into consideration their advice and suggestions which arise from profound interest to help with resolving various questions pertaining to military life. In this, the role of the party organizations, as well as of the organizations of the Socialist Youth Unions and the other social and special interest organizations of the National Front, is being substantially enhanced.

For Army members, a responsible approach toward ensuring the fatherland's security and defense capability and its life in peace is the question of greatest honor and duty. Perfection of the CSLA's combat preparedness and readiness is the fulfillment of the legacy of the heroes of Dukla and corresponds to needs of the development of socialism.

Jan Fojtik Urges New Attitude to Work

LD1610095688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Oct 88

[Report on speech by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the congress of the Czech Socialist Academy, on 15 October in Brno]

[Text] A 2-day congress of the Czech Socialist Academy opened in Brno today. It is being attended by a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the Czech National Front, and the Czech Government headed by Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Jaroslav Rektor, our reporter, reports on the proceedings:

[Begin recording] [Rektor] In the morning delegates heard a report on the Academy's activity delivered by Jaroslav Kale, chairman of the Czech Socialist Academy. It analyzed the work carried out during the past 5-year period and took a critical look at reserves and shortcomings.

In the afternoon the congress continued with a debate on the elections of new bodies of the Academy. Among those who spoke in the debate was Comrade Jan Fojtik. He paid tribute to the work done by the Socialist Academy and its share in the process of education and upbringing. However, Comrade Fojtik devoted the largest part of his speech to the questions of the restructuring of our society. In this connection he said, among other things:

[Fojtik] With the adoption of the law on state enterprise and cooperative organizations and with the introduction of full-scale financial autonomy, there is a need for us to create a totally new type of central management and planning and a new style of work in the central authorities. We want to improve the quality of the work of the central authorities and not to weaken its role. This is important to see, especially at the present time when it is necessary to secure in a uniform way new conditions for the qualitatively new economic growth throughout the country; when it is necessary to begin to carry out in a more determined manner desirable structural changes in our economy and to promote those activities that will lead to the intensification of the socialist economic integration and the application of new forms of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with international organizations in general.

To consider qualitatively new economic growth, the goal of which must be the creation of national income and the substance of which lies in the transition from the cost mechanism to the value added mechanism, while ignoring that this presupposes an increase in the quality of central management and planning and the growth of its role, is to understand nothing about the restructuring of the economic mechanism.

The strategic problems facing our economy are increasing and we must tackle them with a great deal of responsibility and in so doing apply not only purely economic but primarily political and social viewpoints. The Leninist idea about the primacy of politics over economics, politics which, of course, is a concentrated expression of economics, applies today two or threefold more than any time in the past. It is necessary to examine the whole problem of relations between politics, economics, and the social sphere, considering the new requirements of the development and scientifically based prognoses and processes taking place in the world. These are trends that are making themselves felt and that we must master in a rational manner in cooperation with other countries.

To reduce economic reform to a few measures aimed at radical decentralization and opening scope for the operation of the law of value or other economic laws would not only be totally effective [as heard] but in view of the needs of our further development it would be extremely dangerous. For our propaganda and political and educational activity it is especially important to realize that the essential component of the changes that the reform

must bring and that must characterize its progress is the creation of a new socialist attitude to work a new type of work stimulation, a new mechanism of motivation that would encourage truly good quality and publicly beneficial work, bringing truly beneficial effects.

[Rektor] Those were just a few ideas from Comrade Fojtik's speech. The debate was then followed by the elections of the new Central Committee and other bodies. The congress continues tomorrow with more debate. [end recording]

Ministers Discuss Market Problems, Prices

AU1110100388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 88 pp 1,2

[Transcript of a discussion with Pavel Hrivnak, minister in charge of the Federal Price Office; Jaromir Zak, CSSR minister of finance; Kazimir Nagy, minister of trade and tourism of the Slovak SR; and Josef Rab, minister of trade and tourism of the Czech SR, "prepared by" RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Svatopluk Smutny and Czechoslovak television journalist Martin Svehla: "Current Problems of the Domestic Market;" date and place not given—opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Both RUDE PRAVO and Czechoslovak television receive numerous letters from readers and viewers who draw attention to various shortages on our domestic market and ask a number of other questions in this context. To give replies to these questions and to clarify the aforementioned problems, RUDE PRAVO and Czechoslovak television have invited ministers of the federal government and of the Czech SR and Slovak SR Government to a discussion. The following comrades participated in the discussion—Pavel Hrivnak, minister in charge of the Federal Price Office; Jaromir Zak, CSSR minister of finance; Kazimir Nagy, minister of trade and tourism of the Slovak SR; and Josef Rab, minister of trade and tourism of the Czech SR.

[Question] It seems that the number of scarce products on our market is not falling. What sort of a grasp of these problems do you have? Do you expect positive developments?

Rab: Every region, and even district, has its specific problems. Nevertheless, at the ministry we assess the situation of the past weeks as being more serious than at other times. The domestic market is neither in global nor in structural balance. That is why we have had to return to the plan several times this year to adjust the guiding figures for 1988. As far as food products are concerned, we shall be able to improve a number of things thanks to the good harvest, even though various anomalies and distribution problems are responsible for delays in some deliveries. However, the fact is that specific people are behind everything and, in cooperation with national committees, we guide them toward responsibility. We want to provide incentives for producers to share responsibility for the situation on the market; in other words, we want to encourage them to meet the requirements of customers.

[Question] Complaints about the shortage of ladies' sanitary towels, napkins, absorbent cotton, and, to this day, even toilet paper persist. What can you do to improve the situation?

Nagy: I could add extra items to your list, but let me start with sanitary supplies. We have sold many more of them this year than in previous years. In the first 8 months of the year in Slovakia, for instance, we sold 2,000 tonnes more of toilet paper than over the same period last year. We are coping with the situation by importing toilet paper, napkins, as well as sanitary napkins so that, step by step, we will be able to meet the increased demand. In some shops in Slovakia, there has been excessive buying of sugar, rice, and flour. I would like to assure everyone that we have enough sugar. The increased sales have apparently been influenced by the good harvest of grapes and some other fruit; in some districts we have therefore taken steps to regulate its sale until trade organizations manage to distribute the needed quantity. The sugar campaign is on the way, however, and soon we shall deliver to the shops as much sugar as citizens want to buy.

[Question] We all know that autumn is the season when people make preserves. It happens that, although certain contingency provisions have been made, consumption is even higher. The customer does not care whether you have been prepared; he just wants his demands to be satisfied. Do you agree?

Rab: Of course! Each one of us is competent in his function, be it as manager of a shop or as member of the government. Depending on his authority, everyone must discharge his duties to meet the demands society places on his post. We have now been somewhat spared worries as far as the reduction of inventories is concerned, but we are still being criticized for an inadequate supply of merchandise. The consumer does not care that, in the first 3 quarters of the year, we have greatly exceeded the indicators of the plan; all he cares about is the merchandise being offered—from food up to industrial goods.

[Question] In their letters, some citizens express their concern that retailers may be stashing away color television sets or freezers, for example. And they connect this with the planned restructuring of wholesale prices and their impact on retail prices....

Hrivnak: Right at the outset I would like to confirm that the restructuring of wholesale and procurement prices is not bound up with a restructuring of retail prices. The price lists are being drawn up and getting into general awareness; people can see that wholesale prices are going down as well as up.

[Question] To prevent any terminological confusion: Wholesale prices are prices at which socialist organizations exchange goods, and procurement prices are prices at which farmers sell their produce.

Hrivnak: Essentially, it is possible to explain the matter in this simplified manner. The system of our retail prices is divorced from the system of wholesale and procurement prices. The impact of wholesale and procurement prices will not be resolved through changes in retail prices but rather through changes in the turnover tax, appropriations, or other economic instruments.

[Question] But, surely, the minister of finance would not object if the state budget were to receive higher proceeds from the turnover tax?

Zak: I must repeat that the saying that every koruna counts holds true also for the state budget. However, at the same time I would like to confirm what has already been said here: The adjustments in wholesale and procurement prices will not affect retail prices. They will be fully projected into new rates of the turnover tax.

[Question] Let us try to illustrate this by an example. The wholesale price of timber is to increase 30 percent. Can one logically infer from this that the dearer material will also make furniture more expensive?

Hrivnak: We are increasing the price of timber because of the changing conditions in cultivating forests and extracting timber, in order to bring prices into line with costs. The prices of both raw and processed timber are increasing, and this also applies to the wholesale prices of furniture. The retail prices of furniture, however, will remain unchanged and the difference will be offset by a lowering of the turnover tax.

[Question] And what about the prices of agricultural products in connection with higher procurement prices?

Hrivnak: Our agriculture produces under complicated conditions and, if we are to be frank, at relatively high costs. The wholesale price of milk is going up from Kcs4.55 per liter to Kcs5.13. The retail price of full-fat milk, Kcs3.10 per liter, will remain the same, however. Similarly, the wholesale price of butter is going up from Kcs62.40 to Kcs69.31 per kg, but the retail price, Kcs40 per kg, will remain in effect. The only thing that is changing is the state's appropriation— that is, its contribution to offset the aforementioned differences.

[Question] Does this mean that retail prices have been frozen for several years in advance?

Hrivnak: A simple fact needs to be mentioned. If the negative development of the national economy continues together with poor use of working hours and modern technology, if we fail to introduce a number of changes in production and continue to lag behind in innovations, than all this will cause problems in securing the needed resources for appropriations, which total several tens of billions of korunas. I thus believe that the answer to this question depends on all of us, on how we adjust our actions to the conditions of the new economic mechanism. I am confident that production will start moving, that there will be more innovative products with improved utility value on the market, and so forth.

[Question] For the sake of sincerity, let us admit that some prices in the retailing network will change. This applies to prices in the chain of Tuzex [retail sale of goods for foreign exchange] shops. In this connection, questions are appearing in letters concerning its further existence.

Zak: To be frank, the existence of this special network of shops selling goods for foreign currency delights neither the general public, political and government representatives, nor economists. But we have to be realistic. Are there citizens in our country with income in foreign currency? Yes, there are, and they are not few in number—the staff of representative offices abroad, foreign trade employees, experts, Czechoslovak citizens with revenues from pensions, inheritances, royalties, and so forth. The annual turnover in the chain of Tuzex shops amounts to $180 million. That is no small amount. Moreover, it needs to be said that one-third of the goods sold in these shops come from Czechoslovak production and that high taxes are levied on these goods. Thus, our state has a considerable net income from these sales. If this network were to be abolished, the decisive part of the currency spent there would not enter Czechoslovakia and would be spent abroad. The solution to this problem lies in more markedly increasing supplies of sought-after goods on the home market—that is, in ensuring sales of goods which are now sold only in Tuzex also for korunas. The final solution will be the introduction of the convertibility of our currency, but that a long-term matter.

[Question] The price changes in the chain of Tuzex shops are connected with the introduction of a single-component exchange rate of the koruna. Could you briefly explain what this means?

Zak: Although the chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank recently discussed this issue on television, I will try to explain it again, using the example of the U.S. dollar. According to the official list, a foreign visitor to the CSSR should receive roughly Kcs5.50. In the exchange office, he receives a 75-percent premium—that is, altogether he receives about Kcs9.60. That is the gist of the current two-component exchange rate. On 1 January we will introduce the single-component exchange rate, and the figure entered in the official list will be Kcs9.60. At present, the citizen gets Kcs5.50 in Tuzex vouchers for his dollar; as of the New Year, he will get Kcs9.60 in Tuzex vouchers—that is, 75 percent more. That is also why the prices of individual items sold in Tuzex shops will increase 75 percent. No one will lose and no one will gain anything. At the same time, all accounts in Tuzex vouchers will be converted effective 31 December 1988;

he who had Kcs1,000 in Tuzex vouchers on his account, for example, will have Kcs1,750 on it. On the same date, old Tuzex vouchers will be exchanged for new ones. The operation is thus of a technical nature.

[Question] Some Czechoslovak citizens are asking whether a currency reform is being prepared.

Zak: No currency reform has been prepared in Czechoslovakia since 1953 and none is being prepared now. Nor is there any reason to adopt a currency reform in the future. Currency reforms occur in two cases: first, with the founding of independent states, which usually also issue their own currency; and second, in the event of an exceptionally great disruption of the economy. Disruptions of such a scale practically occur only in times of major wars. This was also the case in Czechoslovakia [in 1953]. It must be said that, compared with the consequences of a war or a postwar economy, our present problems are absolutely immaterial and cosmetic. Our economy is developing, albeit not as dynamically as we would wish. Yet our currency is stable.

[Question] The currency reform lowered the value of both cash holdings and deposits in savings banks. What is the situation with respect to deposits and cash holdings today?

Zak: The long-term development of deposits is normal. The savings rate in our country averages around 4 percent [of disposable income] a year. In a number of countries it is substantially higher; in the United States, it is twice as high, in Japan three times as high, while in some countries it is lower. The following general rule applies here: The more advanced an economy, the stronger its potential; and the higher the living standards of the population, the higher also is the level of deposits. Ultimately, it is also a reflection of the attitude of the population toward the stability of the state concerned and its economic performance. Savings in Czechoslovakia are not an immobilized item; they turn over after 3 years and 8 months. Savings total more than Kcs300 billion. People save purposefully: for apartments and furniture, foreign travel, passenger cars, old age, children, and the like. It is a natural development and, as socioeconomic development accelerates, we should save even more.

[Question] Some time ago there was talk of extraordinary imports to improve supplies on the home market. Where is all that merchandise?

Nagy: You are probably referring to Federal Government Resolution No 143. It must be said that the resources for Kcs1.8 billion worth of extra purchases abroad were released with some delay, which is also why the reaction of the retailing network was a bit belated. But the merchandise is now virtually on the way. A considerable part of it will come in time for the Christmas market. We shall enlarge the supply of products that are now scarce, such as video recorders, color television sets, and other electronic goods, and some types of knitwear and underwear. We will also import refrigerators, freezers, automatic washing machines, and other merchandise.

[Question] Yet this is a single, nonrecurring boost....

Rab: Of the aforementioned sum, Kcs350 million in foreign currency has been set aside for imports of machinery and technology to increase production of precisely those types of goods that are in short supply; these goods will enrich the market in the years to come.

[Question] We import, and will continue to import, what we cannot produce ourselves. But how shall we deal with the shortage of building or wiring material—that is, of goods needed for the maintenance of apartments and family homes?

Nagy: I must admit that, in the planning process, the estimates of needs for these types of material were not accurate enough. However, we also have to realize that the purchasing power of the population has increased more than projected. People have concentrated on purchases of merchandise which, from their viewpoint, is of an investment nature. Interest in this type of merchandise is great and suppliers have not only confirmed planned deliveries but want to exceed them. The building materials sector, for example, wants to exceed planned cement deliveries by 50,000 tonnes. We are projecting increased interest in this type of merchandise into the next annual plan.

[Question] And what about the situation in the Czech SR?

Rab: Individual builders are used to the fact that, during the summer season, we suffer from shortages of building materials. Yet demand for them is still not abating. We have reached agreement with the supplying sectors to markedly reinforce supplies for next year taking into account this year's shortages. And the Government of the Czech SR has already taken concrete steps in support of production in these sectors.

Correction to Fojtik Report on Ideology

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Fojtik Report on Ideology to Plenum," published in the Czechoslovakia section of the 20 October East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 12: column one, last paragraph, last sentence: ...very tense and is causing breakdowns in the organization of production, while problems in... (changing word "prices" to "production")

More on Visit of Jewish World Congress' Bronfman

Received by SED Official

AU2010151488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs, held a talk with Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the Jewish World Congress, and his entourage on Tuesday [18 October]. There was complete agreement between the two sides that a refusal to forget the cruel facist past, the preservation of the antifacist heritage, and the continued support and cultivation of Jewish life in the GDR are historic tasks.

The president reported on the Jewish World Congress' international activities to promote and protect the lives of all people in friendship and peace.

Kurt Loeffler and Peter Kirchner, vice president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, briefed the visitors on the life of the Jewish communities in the GDR, the cultivation of Jewish culture and Jewish heritage as a task that involves the entire society, and the support the state provides for this.

Edgar Miles Bronfman was the first to sign the visitors' book of the "Foundation New Synagogue Berlin — Centrum Judaicum," and promised that the Jewish World Congress will participate in the management of the board of trustees.

Meets With FDJ Leader

AU2010132488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In a talk on Monday [17 October] with Jochen Willerding, chairman of the FDJ group of the GDR People's Chamber and secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the Jewish World Congress, was briefed on the efforts by the socialist youth association to educate the young generation in the spirit of humanism, democracy, and socialism. Jochen Willerding explained how the FDJ was formed out of the antifascist youth committees, which included young communists, socialists, and other democrats of Christian and Jewish beliefs. The youth organization is consistently adhering to the tradition of safeguarding the interests of the entire youth in the GDR. The upcoming 50th anniversary of the fascist pogrom night will offer an opportunity to revive the spirit of the antifascist heritage of the German and the Jewish history, Jochen Willerding pointed out. This is being demonstrated by the FDJ within the framework of the "FDJ pledge GDR 40" by taking care of Jewish graves and the commitment to participate in the reconstruction of the synagogue in Berlin.

FDJ members from schools in the Weissensee city district reported on their work to preserve Jewish graves.

The president of the Jewish World Congress paid tribute to the cultivation of humanist traditions by the FDJ. He spoke in favor of deepening political dialogue among young people with different ideological views in Europe and the world because this would promote peace.

The talk was attended by Prof Dr Israel Singer, secretary general of the Jewish World Congress; Dr Mariam Stern, chairperson of the European Union of Students; and Dr Peter Kirchner, vice president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR.

Received by Culture Ministry Official

AU2010132588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Oct 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Friedhelm Grabe, state secretary in the Ministry of Culture, received Edgar Miles Bronfman, president of the Jewish World Council, for a talk on Monday [17 October] on the contribution by culture and arts in the GDR toward cultivating and preserving the progressive, humanist Jewish heritage and to the living continuation of the antifascist legacy.

The interlocutors also discussed the tasks of the new foundation "New Synagogue Berlin—Centraum Judaicum."

FRG Accused of Interference in Internal Affairs

AU1810093888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15-16 Oct 88 p 2

[ADN commentary: "No Great Moment"]

[Text] On Thursday afternoon [13 October] the parties that are represented in the Bonn Bundestag gathered for "question time." In a rare display of unity, the deputies staged a ghostly scenario: harsh attacks on the GDR party and state leadership, and gross interference in its internal affairs. An incident was pathetically played up in order to accuse the GDR of "putting a strain on relations."

Apart from the fact that Thursday's "question time" represents unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign neighbor state, if one bears in mind the starting point, it was not exactly a great moment for West German parliamentarism either. What exactly is the bone of contention? It all started with a small unlawful assembly on Monday afternoon [10 October] for which the authorities had received no application and which was therefore not permitted. Arrangements had been made with correspondents from the Western press. As in every other state that is based on the rule of law, the members of the People's Police did their duty to stop this unlawful gathering. As the GDR press has reported, a group of about 80 persons were temporarily detained as a result of this measure and were released the same evening with a warning.

In the first place, Western journalists and ARD and ZDF camera teams that were on the spot at the right time had to calculate the risk of being affected by the state security measures. Therefore, they themselves are responsible for the consequences of their participation in this unlawful assembly. The GDR is not the only country where working conditions, that were agreed to and used by these journalists and then deplored by the Bundestag, are restricted if journalists hinder the security forces in their work.

By practicing journalism in this way, which they themselves consider an interference in the GDR's internal affairs, the ARD and ZDF correspondents are not complying with the spirit and the content of the CSCE process, nor with the stipulations laid down in the communique signed on the occasion of the visit to the GDR by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. The communique reads: "General Secretary Erich Honecker and Chancellor Kohl stress the great significance of comprehensive and factual information by the press, radio, and television to promote the further development of good-neighborly relations."

Those who spoke during the most recent "question time" know that the working conditions for journalists, which were stipulated in the correspondence to the Basic Treaty, have proven to be an acceptable basis during more than 1 and ½ decades. It is not the observance of the GDR's sovereignty in regulating its internal affairs, but the attempts at interference on the part of Bonn that hold the danger of putting a strain on relations between the GDR and FRG. But, as was repeatedly pointed out by both sides, this would not be in the interest of the people and of the current spirit.

Further Reportage on Visit of Mongolia's Batmonh

Honecker Toasts Batmonh

AU1310190188 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 88 p 3

[Toast proposed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at a dinner given in honor of Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and president of the Mongolian People's Republic, in East Berlin on 10 October: "Encouraging Signs in the Struggle for Disarmament"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, dear Mongolian comrades, dear comrades and friends:

Dear Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, please allow me once more to welcome you most warmly to the GDR. I recall with pleasure my visit to your beautiful country, which took place nearly 2 years ago. Our renewed meeting here in Berlin demonstrates in an impressive manner that our long-standing fraternal relations, which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are steadily deepening and developing in a comprehensive manner.

Dear comrades and friends:

The active and initiative-rich policy of the socialist states is influencing the world political situation more than ever before and has an immense share in the fact that numerous positive changes are taking place in the international arena. In this context, I would like to make special mention of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and their scrapping that has been started recently. These are encouraging signs in the struggle for arms limitation and disarmament.

The World's Conscience Determines the Course of Events to an Increasing Extent [subhead]

The world should be able to breathe a sigh of relief, instead of having to live in constant sorrow because of ever new rounds of the arms race and the danger of a devastating nuclear war. Therefore, there cannot and must not be a respite on the path that has been embarked on. The Warsaw Pact states acted completely in this spirit when they submitted further constructive proposals for the steady continuation of the disarmament process at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in July this year.

To consolidate peace and security and not to allow any war, either with nuclear or with conventional weapons, is and will continue to be our paramount principle.

And here we do not lose sight of the resistance of those NATO circles who adhere to the strategy of nuclear deterrence and who continuously present new arms plans and modernization variants.

Developments, not only on our continent, demonstrate very convincingly that the world's conscience is determining the course of events to a growing extent. But persistent efforts are still necessary to achieve such important steps as the 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States with strict observance of the ABM Treaty, the reduction in the number of and eventually the complete banning and scrapping of chemical weapons, the reduction of the armed forces and conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Our country, on the dividing line between the two most powerful military blocs, is contributing to the best of its ability to further reducing the danger of war through new and real disarmament measures and businesslike relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact that serve peace. The proposals submitted jointly by the GDR and CSSR for the creation of a nuclear-free corridor and a

chemical-weapon-free zone in central Europe and the proposal for the creation of a zone of confidence and security continue to be topical.

With its efforts to do everything possible so that war will never again start from German soil, rather only peace, the GDR is consistently pursuing its policy of dialogue and cooperation. It is encouraging that the insight is gaining strength that security cannot be achieved by continuing the arms race against one another, but by jointly reducing the arms.

The results of the international meeting on nuclear-free zones in East Berlin a few months ago was an impressive testimony to this. There is no doubt that it provided fresh stimuli to the joint struggle of all forces of peace for the elimination of the nuclear danger. Dear Comrade Batmonh, the dedicated and expert work carried out by the delegation from your country and the constructive proposals for the further improvement of the international situation contributed to the success of this forum.

In the Asian-Pacific region, too, as a result of the improvement in the world situation, a change for the better is becoming discernible. The peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist countries have proven to be a dynamic force that is advancing the process of change in the political atmosphere of this region. This was again confirmed by Mikhail Gorbachev's recent initiative in his Krasnoyarsk speech and in the PRC's active peace policy.

We welcome and support these proposals that are aimed at the reduction of military confrontation and at the promotion of dialogue and fruitful cooperation. With the goodwill of all states in this region, it will be possible to find suitable paths to more security.

We highly appreciate the continued efforts by the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] to safeguard peace and improve the situation on the Asian continent. The MPR's proposal to create a mechanism for the exclusion of violence in relations between the states of Asia and the Pacific region has the full support of the GDR. This applies equally to the MPR's numerous initiatives for the development of a broad political dialogue of the most varied social forces in the region. We regard the enthusiastic approval that greets the MPR's peace policy as a clear expression of the authority and respect your country enjoys worldwide.
Esteemed Comrade Batmonh:

We congratulate you wholeheartedly on the great successes of the fraternal Mongolian people in implementing the resolutions of the 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], aimed at accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The good results are a solid pledge for strengthening socialism on Mongolian soil and for the enhancement of its international standing. They are of great importance in our joint struggle for the safeguarding of peace.

In this spirit, we drew up a positive balance sheet of the implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress on the occasion of the 39th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. On the basis of the proven course of the unity of economic and social policy, it is possible to fulfill the tasks that are of particular significance in shaping the developed socialist society. We consider it important to link the advantages of socialism even more efficiently with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. In short, this is the crucial core of our economic strategy with a view to the year 2000. This policy is fully supported by the working people of the GDR.

We Will Continue To Follow the Dialectics of Continuity and Renewal [subhead]

In accordance with our party program, which we have pledged to implement, we will continue to shape the developed socialist society as a process of far-reaching, political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes. This makes it necessary, on the basis of national conditions, to constantly find answers to new questions that life poses.

In this, we carefully study the experiences of other socialist countries and use them. We will continue to follow the dialectics of continuity and renewal in our strategic conception.
Dear Mongolian comrades and friends:

We can state with great satisfaction that the close relations between our parties, states, and peoples have been developing and deepening steadily for over a decade on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation in all spheres. In this context, the comradely relations between our two parties, the SED and MPRP, have proven to be the core of the trusting cooperation.

Economic and scientific-technological cooperation is of prime importance for the further development of our relations. When we signed the "Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and MPR Through the Year 2000" 2 years ago, we linked this with the conviction that another upswing will take place between our countries in this sphere.

Today we can state that cooperation has increased not only in the traditional spheres. Jointly, we also devote our attention to the use of high technologies, microelectronics, and robot technology.

Efficient Contribution to the Cause of Socialism [subhead]

Specialists and expert cadres from the GDR are jointly struggling with their Mongolian colleagues for high-level results in work and to fulfill the plan on schedule with the required quality in MPR enterprises and facilities. I would like to mention such important cooperation

projects as the meat and canned food combine, the porcelain factory, and the carpet factory in Ulaanbaatar, and the "Ernst Thaelmann" state farm in Bornuur. Many citizens from your country are being trained at universities and technical schools, and receive vocational training in the GDR.

The close relations of partnership between Cottbus Bezirk and Bulgan Aymag, as well as Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk and Tob Aymag are conducive to the shaping of bilateral relations between the GDR and MPR. Close contacts in the sphere of science, education, and culture are also essential factors in the lives of our peoples.
Dear comrades and friends:

In accordance with our tested traditions as a friend and fellow fighter of the MPR, we will do everything in our power to continue to further strengthen and deepen the trusting cooperation and fraternal friendship with the MPRP, with the fatherland of the great sons of the Mongolian people, Sukhe Bator and Choybalsan. In this way, we are making an efficient contribution to enhancing the cause of socialism and to safeguarding peace.

Dear comrades and friends, let us raise our glasses and drink

—to the indestructible fraternal ties between the SED and MPRP,

—to the further development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our states and peoples,

—to the further strengthening of the forces of peace, socialism, and social progress all over the world,

—to your well-being, dear Comrade Batmonh,

—to the well-being of all Mongolian comrades and friends who are present.

Batmonh Returns Toast

AU1210205788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 88 p 3

[Toast by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the MPR, at a dinner given for him by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in Berlin on 10 October: "Our Cooperation Has a Solid Basis"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker, dear comrades and friends:

Permit me to express our deep gratitude to you, dear Comrade Erich Honecker, and to the SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council, for the invitation to the official friendship visit to your country and for the warm and cordial welcome.

We are sincerely pleased to meet again on GDR territory. We consider our meeting today as a convincing expression of the internationalist relations between our parties and peoples.

Our talks and negotiations today again affirmed the determination of our parties and governments to steadily further develop and deepen the friendly relations and close cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] and the GDR. They have also shown that we are of one opinion with regard to the topical problems of current international life.

We have every reason to be satisfied with the high level of our relations with the GDR. For almost 40 years we have been linked by firm bonds of fraternal friendship and by relations of close cooperation in all fields of social life.

In the past years considerable experience has been gathered in developing trade, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural relations, and a solid political-legal basis has been created for these areas. I mean primarily our treaty of friendship and cooperation, the long-term program for the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the MPR and the GDR for the period through the year 2000, in which the main directions and perspectives of the development of relations between the two countries are set out.

Close Relations Between Aymags and Bezirke [subhead]

Direct relations between the aymags, bezirke, and cities of the MPR and the GDR and between the work collectives of the two countries are also developing further; in the same way, the exchange of experiences in the fields of economic development and cultural life is expanded. All this contributes to consolidating and enriching the best traditions of friendly cooperation between the peoples of Mongolia and the GDR.

I would like to stress in particular that the relations between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and the SED form a solid foundation and the main guideline in the entire complex of relations between the two countries.

We accord great importance to the expansion of our cooperation and to raising its efficiency. In this connection, we stress with great satisfaction that the official friendship visit of the esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the MPR in 1986 provided strong stimuli to the further development of the varied relations between our two countries.

The meeting of the chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the MPR and the GDR in Ulaanbaatar last year was also of great importance.

Our People Highly Value the GDR's Varied Aid [subhead]

The MPRP and the Mongolian people highly value the varied aid and support of the friends from the GDR in the development of our country's industry and agriculture, in carrying out geological prospecting work, and in training our national cadres. I would like to take this opportunity to again express our deep gratitude to the SED, the government, and the people of the GDR for the friendly support in the building of socialism in the MPR.

One can say that life in our country has entered a new, important stage. The Mongolian people are implementing an economic reform and a renewal of all spheres of social life necessitated by this.

This realizes the strategic course founded by the 19th MPRP Congress to accelerate the economic and social development of our country and to raise efficiency and quality. The goals and directions of the changes taking place in our country are similar to the restructuring processes in the other fraternal countries.

We are faced with complicated and difficult tasks that are linked with the improvement of the economic structure, the system of management and planning, and the economic mechanism, and with a considerable improvement in the cultural and social living conditions of the working people, primarily the rural population. Fulfilling these tasks not only requires the maximum use of our own forces and possibilities, but also the further deepening and expansion of bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the fraternal countries and the raising of cooperation efficiency.

Dear comrades: We are pleased to note that the industrious and talented people of the GDR celebrated the 39th anniversary of the founding of their worker-peasant state with successes in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress to achieve a high material and cultural standard of living on the basis of effectively linking the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution.

In the GDR the teachings of scientific socialism, which were founded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, have become reality and fundamental socioeconomic changes, which have totally altered the face or your country, have taken place.

The successful implementation of the goals jointly worked out for the new stage of development in the economic integration of the CEMA member countries, to which the GDR is making an important contribution, is extremely significant for raising the economic potentials of the countries of the socialist community and for strengthening of position of socialism.

The GDR, which is located in the heart of Europe, actively pursues the course of consolidating peace and international security. The peaceful work of construction and the constructive foreign policy initiatives of the German worker-peasant state, which actively participates in the political and economic organizations of the socialist community, constitute a real contribution to strengthening the positions of socialism in the world and the foundations of world peace. In this connection, we accord great importance to the practical implementation of the proposals submitted by the SED and the GDR Government to free Europe from nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction and to establish a zone of trust and security in Europe.

Positive Changes Also on the Asian Continent [subhead]

In today's world, which is indivisible and where all processes are interlaced, guaranteeing security has become the supreme command. We hold the opinion that the most effective way to a solution of this most important problem, which would be acceptable to all sides, is the joint search for a new approach to international matters in the spirit of the new political thinking. Convincing proof of such a new approach are the constructive proposals on the radical reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, which were presented by the Warsaw Pact states this summer.

We note that the positive changes both in Europe and in Asia are not few. In both continents we see a real trend toward reducing nuclear weapons, eliminating hotbeds of confrontation and conflicts, expanding political dialogue, and consolidating the climate of trust, toward mutual understanding, and good-neighborly cooperation.

Examples of this are the start of the practical elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the positive agreements reached in Geneva on the political settlement of the situation in Afghanistan, and the end of the long-standing bloody war between Iran and Iraq. Recently, there has also been a positive trend with regard to the peaceful settlement of the Cambodia problem. We think that establishing official relations between the CEMA and the EC will provide a new impetus to the development of international economic cooperation and to the improvement of the political climate in Europe and in the world.

The concrete proposals recently presented by Comrade M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Krasnoyarsk have opened up new prospects for the reduction of tensions, the consolidation of trust, and the development of cooperation between the states of the Asian-Pacific region.

Mankind Is Striving for a Nuclear-Free World [subhead]

The new Soviet initiatives greatly contribute to consolidating the positive changes in the Asian-Pacific region as a whole and express mankind's striving for a world free of nuclear weapons and violence.

The MPR supports the struggle of the fraternal socialist countries and of all other peace-loving forces to bring about an improvement in the international situation and to safeguard peace and security of the peoples, and will continue to consistently support it in the future. It has always been eager to make its own contribution to activating these processes.

Dear friends, we are convinced that our meetings and talks and the direct acquaintance with the achievements and experiences in building socialism in the GDR will promote the further deepening of the close cooperation between our two countries.

On this occasion, from the bottom of my heart, I wish the workers class and all working people of the GDR new, great successes in fulfilling the tasks decided by the 11th SED Congress and in the struggle to safeguard peace in Europe and all over the world.

I ask you to raise your glasses with me and to drink to:

—the further consolidation of the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the MPR and the GDR;

—the further flourishing of the GDR;

—the health of our highly esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, the renowned representative of the international and German workers movement, the good friend of the Mongolian people, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and chairman of the GDR State Council, and of all other comrades of the GDR party and state leadership;

—the health of all those present here.

Leaders on Mutual, Foreign Ties

AU1210165088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 88

[Text] East Berlin—In a meeting which was attended by further leading figures and experts of both countries, Erich Honecker and Jambyn Batmonh [general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and president of Mongolia] continued their talks on Monday [10 October]. The two general secretaries briefed each other on social developments in their respective countries. Jambyn Batmonh explained the efforts of the Mongolian working people in implementing the speeding up of socio-economic developments in his country agreed upon by the 19th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP]. The two statesmen noted with satisfaction that the relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, have been developed and strengthened. The alliance of the two parties forms the core of these relations which, thanks to the regular exchange of experience, have achieved a high level in all spheres.

Erich Honecker and Jambyn Batmonh paid special attention to economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries which has developed continually within the framework of the long-term program up to the year 2000, agreed upon in 1986, and on the basis of coordinating the plans of the national economies. They said there should be a move toward further efficiency of cooperation between the two countries in the areas of agriculture, the food industry, geology and ore mining, and light industry.

Erich Honecker and Jambyn Batmonh had a detailed exchange of opinions on the international situation. The general secretaries emphasized their convictions that it is not only necessary but also possible to replace confrontation with cooperation. They emphasized that now it was a matter of finally banishing the danger of the destruction of mankind. They stated their determination to persistently and consistently continue the policy of dialogue for peace and disarmament on both regional and global levels. In this connection they expressed their unconditional support for the latest proposals for raising security in the Asian-Pacific region submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk.

Erich Honecker explained the initiatives for the creation of a nuclear weapon-free corridor, a zone free of chemical weapons and a zone of trust and security in central Europe. He praised the Mongolian People's Republic's [MPR] peace initiatives, especially in the interest of regional security in Asia.

Jambyn Batmonh expressed the MPR's full agreement with the GDR's active peace policy and for the joint GDR-CSSR initiatives as well as the proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries and gave a more detailed description of the MPR's contribution for securing peace in Asia, for example, its proposal to establish a mechanism which excludes violence in the relations between states in the Asian-Pacific region.

On the side of the GDR the following people participated in the talks: Guenter Maleuda, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council; Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Gerhard Beil, member of the SED Central Committee and minister for Foreign Trade; Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee's International Relations Department; Herbert Krolikowski, member of the SED Central Committee and state secretary and first deputy minister for Foreign Affairs; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, member of the SED Central Committee,

state secretary, and chief of the Chancery of the Chairman of the GDR State Council; and Lothar Zoellner, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the MPR.

On the side of the MPR the following people participated: Sonomyn Lubsangombo, candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee, deputy chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers and chairman of the MPR section of the MPR-GDR Economic Committee; Lodongiyn Rinchin member of the MPRP Central Committee and director of the MPRP Central Committee's International Relations Department; Daramyn Yondon, member of the MPRP Central Committee and first deputy minister for Foreign Affairs; Rabdangiyn Bataa, candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee and staff member of the general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee; and Ragchaabazaryn Jamts, candidate member of the MPRP Central Committee and MPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR.

Batmonh Praises, Awards Honecker

AU1210164788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 88 p 2

[Speech by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, on the occasion of presenting the MPR's highest award to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in Berlin on 10 October]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, dear comrades:

I am glad to be able to present to you, Comrade Honecker, the excellent leading representative of the SED and the GDR, renowned official of the international and communist workers movement and good friend of the Mongolian people, the highest award of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR]: The Order of Sukhe Bator. Highly esteemed Comrade Honecker, this decoration was awarded to you on the occasion of your 75th birthday as an expression of the high appreciation of our party and our government for your great merits and your personal contribution to strengthening peace and socialism and to developing and deepening the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the MPR and the GDR.

You fulfill with consistency the duties conferred on you by the SED and the working people of the GDR, and you use all your strength, all your knowledge and abilities, as well as your rich experience and creative activity for the noble cause of building and perfecting the socialist society in your country, for strengthening socialism in the world and the unity and cohesion of the fraternal countries, as well as the revolutionary and democratic forces of our times.

The communists and all working people of our country appreciate and admire you as the consistent internationalist and ardent fighter for the interests of the international workers class, for peace and security, and for the happiness and well-being of the peoples. We are firmly convinced that the fraternal friendship and the close cooperation between the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and SED, and between the peoples of our two countries will continue to develop and deepen in accordance with the unshakeable principles of socialist internationalism.

Permit me, highly esteemed Comrade Erich Honecker, to congratulate you cordially on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the MPR Government, and on my own behalf, for being awarded the highest national decoration of the MPR. I wish you good health, and new great successes in your comprehensive work for the further progress of the GDR, for peace, friendship, and our people'shappy future.

Honecker Thanks Batmonh for Award

AU1210165988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 88 p 2

[Speech by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, thanking Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, for receiving the MPR's highest award in Berlin on 10 October]

[Text] Dear Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, dear Mongolian comrades:
I accept the highest national award of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], the Order of Sukhe Bator, with the greatest pleasure. I express my deepest gratitude to you personally and to the entire Mongolian party and state leadership for the great honor which this decoration means to me. To me this distinction is also an expression of appreciation for the SED and our socialist state, and is a symbol of the close and fraternal friendship and cooperation between our two parties and peoples.

Relations between our two states have always been characterized by full agreement on all questions of principle in the struggle for peace and strong socialism, and reflect the invincible strength of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our relations are based on a stable foundation of agreements which are expanded with continuity and great commitment. The time-tested militant alliance between the SED and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] has always been a driving force for this process.

The talks during your present visit to the GDR will be of great importance for further deepening the cooperation of our two parties and states and their people for our mutual benefit.

The name Sukhe Bator recalls the liberation of the Mongolian people and the beginning of its vigorous striving toward a new social order. As faithful fellow fighters, we follow with satisfaction the successful socialist construction in the MPR and the noticeable increase of international authority of our Mongolian fraternal country, particularly in the Asian-Pacific region. I had several opportunities to get first-hand information about the successes of the Mongolian people. I have always recalled my visits to your beautiful country with great pleasure.

Esteemed Comrade Batmonh, please accept once again my sincerest gratitude. Rest assured that the SED will continue to do everything within its power to further develop and deepen the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples in all spheres of social life.

Batmonh, Honecker Hold Talks

OW1510201988 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] A meeting and talks had been held in Berlin between Jambyn Batmonh and Erich Honecker, the Mongolian and GDR party and state leaders. General Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and Mongolian President Batmonh is in the GDR on an official friendly visit.

Mongolian leader Jambyn Batmonh has awarded Erich Honecker the Order of Sukhe Bator, the highest state award of Mongolia for his huge merit and personal contribution to the strengthening of peace and socialism, to the development and expansion of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the two peoples and in connection with his 70th [as received] birthday.

Official talks were held in Berlin between Jambyn Batmonh and Erich Honecker. During the talks the two leaders said that a change towards the better began following the signing of the Soviet-American INF treaty and other subsequent talks, which must be reinforced and made irreversable.

The two leaders have also expressed their resolve to persistently and consistently continue their policy of dialogue both on the regional and on global scale. In this connection, Batmonh and Erich Honecker gave their unreserved support to the proposals advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in Krasnoyarsk, designed to enhance the security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Jambyn Batmonh had laid a wreath of flowers to the memorial of victims of fascism in the Street of Unter der Linden, and to the Monument of Soviet troops in [name indistinct] in Berlin.

During the official friendly visit of the Mongolian party leader and President Jambyn Batmonh to the German Democratic Republic, the press of that country stresses the successful development of close ties between the two fraternal countries. These ties were elevated to a new high level after the conclusion of the program of economic and scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2000, signed 2 years ago between Mongolian and the GDR.

Over 40 enterprises and organizations of the two countries have established direct contacts. The GDR renders considerable assistance to Mongolia in realizing the important economic tasks and training national personnel. At present, about 600 boys and girls are studying at various schools and institutions, reports the GDR press.

Meets With Lorenz, Others

LD1110142888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1059 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Excerpt] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—On the second day of his official friendship visit to the GDR, Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, today arrived in Karl-Marx-Stadt. He is accompanied by Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. In the morning the guests were cordially welcomed for a 2-day stay by Siegfried Lorenz, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the SED Karl-Marx-Stadt bezirk executive. [passage omitted]

Ends Visit, Departs for USSR

OW1510211888 Ulaanbaatar International Service in English 0910 GMT 14 Oct 88

[Text] Mongolian Party leader and President Jambyn Batmonh has completed his official visit of friendship to the German Democratic Republic at the invitation of the GDR Party and State leader Erich Honecker. On Thursday he flew from Berlin and the same day arrived in Moscow, the USSR, where he will spend his holiday.

Mongolia and the GDR, by reinforcing socialism in both countries, will make an energetic contribution to consolidating peace and disarmament. In this regard, of ongoing importance are comradely cooperation and exchange of views amongst fraternal countries—This was stated during the meeting in Berlin between Mongolian and GDR leaders Batmonh and Erich Honnecker.

It was underlined that Batmonh's visit was [word indistinct] cement the total reliance between the two countries. During his visit, the Mongolian leader called on the Politechnical University in Karl Marx Stadt. Batmonh was awarded the title of honorary doctor of the mining academy in the GDR town of Freiburg.

Whitehead Views East Europe Tour, Romanian Issue
AU2010123788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Oct 88 p 3

[Interview with John Whitehead, deputy U.S. secretary of state, by Peter Sereny: "John Whitehead Interviewed by NEPSZABADSAG—We Want To Develop Our Relations With All Eastern European Countries"—in Budapest on 17 October]

[Text] John Whitehead, who is on a tour of Eastern European, arrived in Budapest on 16 October. Prior to his official talks on 17 October, John Whitehead received NEPSZABADSAG correspondent Peter Sereny and answered his questions.

[Sereny] You are a frequent visitor to Eastern Europe. Does this reflect special emphasis on U.S. policy in this area?

[Whitehead] Yes. Secretary of State George Shultz asked me 3 years ago to accept special responsibility for developing our relations with Eastern Europe. Since then, this has been my sixth visit to the region and my fourth visit in Hungary. This shows the United States' great emphasis on improving and developing its political and economic relations with all East European countries.

[Sereny] Last time we welcomed you in Hungary in June 1988, prior to the visit of Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and premier, to the United States. How do you evaluate Hungarian-U.S. relations today?

[Whitehead] I can tell you that our relations are very good, and that they are improving all the time. Mr Grosz' visit was very successful. We were glad to host him in the United States. He spent enough time in the United States to be able to see a lot of our country. Contrary to some other visitors, he did not visit only New York and Washington, but also saw California, Chicago, and other cities. I think that he was very impressed by what he saw. This was his first visit to the United States, and I do not think that anyone is really able to understand a country until he has seen something of that country.

[Sereny] Will U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe remain unchanged after the upcoming presidential elections?

[Whitehead] Yes, I think that this policy will continue. This is a bipartisan policy, and, in my view, both presidential candidates will continue to follow with determined attention the events taking place in Eastern Europe in order to see how the marked changes continue, particularly changes of recent months which make it possible for these countries to increase their relations with the West, including the United States, to the extent that they wish.

[Sereny] In an interview with Hungarian television prior to your departure for this present tour of Eastern Europe, you said that you would raise the national minority issues during your talks in Romania. You have been in Romania, so have you indeed raised this issue? What is your impression of your talks in Romania in this respect?

[Whitehead] Yes, I raised this issue during my talks in Romania, particularly the destruction of homes there. I had the opportunity to travel by car into the provinces, and I saw with my own eyes villages destroyed by bulldozers and their inhabitants forced to move to residential centers against their will. This is a new, and rather nasty [viszatetszo], form of limitation imposed on people. We believe that one's home is one's castle. It is a particularly reprehensible violation of human rights when people are forced to leave their homes and watch their homes be destroyed.

[Sereny] What is your opinion about the conclusion of the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna?

[Whitehead] This follow-up conference has been going on for a very long time and has moved quite close to a conclusion: Agreement has been reached on almost every point. However, we would not like to rush the issue. We want to conclude this conference with a balanced final document which will contain proper agreements, particularly in the area of human rights. When this agreement is reached, we will be able to advance and start negotiations on reducing conventional arms. It is very important to start these negotiations as soon as possible because we would like to see this negotiation process in force before the end of the current U.S. Administration.

[Sereny] You have mentioned human rights in connection with the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna. Do you feel any change in our region concerning the approach to this issue?

[Whitehead] Yes, I do. Very rapid progress can be discerned in the countries of this region and in the Soviet Union itself concerning freedom of the press, religion, and assembly. Assemblies and demonstrations are not dispersed, and there is increasing freedom of publication for books, journals, and articles. All these rights, which are normal rights in the free countries, are also increasingly present in Eastern Europe, perhaps with the exception of Romania which, seemingly, has not so far made much progress in this direction.

FRG Official Comments on Romania, Minorities
LD2010143488 Hamburg DPA in German 1302 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest (DPA)—The FRG and Hungary fully agree in their assessment of Romania's minority policies. This was stated to journalists in Budapest today by Wolfgang Mischnick, chairman of the FDP Bundestag group, at the end of his 5-day visit to Hungary. Under a planned agricultural reform in Romania, thousands of

villages inhabited by mainly Hungarian and German minorities, are to be pulled down. The measure has met with strong international criticism.

Mischnick stated: "On several occasions Hungary has recognized that on this question the Federal Republic has supported Hungary's (critical) position, not merely verbally but as far as possible in practical terms." Mischnick spoke in favor of "nonspectacular support," because this "brings greater success." Referring to his talks with senior Hungarian politicians, Mischnick said that Hungary is "gradually and cautiously approaching a pluralistic model of society, where a multiparty system" is even possible.

Mischnick is visiting Hungary for the fourth time. He held talks with the MSZMP Central Committee President Janos Kadar, government and party chief Karoly Grosz, and Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros. He also visited the Pecs region, where the majority of Hungary's German minority lives. An FRG consulate is to be set up there soon.

Israeli Minister Assesses Trade Turnover

LD2010135488 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Israel would willingly buy grain and meat from Hungary. This was said by Sharon, Israeli minister of industry and commerce, in an interview with HETI VILAGGAZDASAG. The politician said that Hungary and Israel are now compiling a list of goods with customs concessions. The Hungarians soon will receive an automatic import permit for metals and for certain chemical substances. Sharon believes that bilateral trade may soon double, and that it could reach $100 million annually.

Trade Ministry Responds to Strike Threat

LD2110114788 Budapest MTI in English 1100 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Ministry of Trade today strongly "rejected both the contents and the presentation" of the cable which the workers' meeting of the Szombathely-based facility of the Keripar Co. worded and sent to Prime Minister Karoly Grosz yesterday.

The workers threatened to go on strike as of 10 AM Friday unless they received a response before then.

The Szombathely facility wants to go independent from its parent company and the workers complained that the government's earlier promise to grant independence to the facility in a document not later than October 15 had not been kept.

Trade Minister, Mr Tamas Beck, was unable to look into Keripar's complaint yesterday because of a day-long meeting of the Council of Ministers. This morning, however, he decided that the Szombathely facility and four others must be made independent. The statutory documents will be forwarded to the concerned parties in the coming days, says a statement of the Ministry of Trade.

The statement emphasizes that the ministry has always supported the Szombathely facility's plea to go independent. It was authorized last August to manage its domestic contracts and export-import deals independently, as well as to start negotiations for the establishment of a joint venture. According to the ministry, the facility was not barred from running its own affairs independently in the absence of a written ministerial document to that effect.

The ministry stresses that the strike would be "unjustified and groundless and contrary to the interests of both Hungary and the company itself". The statement points out that the economic results of Keripar look bad, and the company was forced to mortgage its wealth against a bank loan. The production of competitive products would serve the interest of the company rather than a strike, says the statement.

The ministry expresses regret "that the Szombathely workers forgot to sign the cable addressed to Prime Minister Karoly Grosz".

No information is available yet on the workers' reaction to the ministry's statement.

Trade minister, Mr Beck, himself a former highly successful company manager, stressed at the latest meeting between the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and the government that the right to strike must be guaranteed under appropriate circumstances. "We fully disagree with attempts to strike for the removal of certain individuals, because things could easily get out of hand".

At the same time, he also expressed concern for public respect for company managers because certain individuals, who had been dismissed from local bodies for incompetence, were, at times, channelled into high positions in production companies.

Union Decides Against Strike

LD2110123288 Budapest MTI in English 1113 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, October 21, 1988 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Keripar facility in Szombathely have opted against a strike to support their plea to the government for going independent.

At a workers' meeting which started at 10.30 A.M. Friday, it was announced that Trade Minister Mr Beck had signed the document granting independence to the Szombathely facility, about which a decision had been passed earlier.

After the meeting ended, work was resumed as usual.

Demonstrators Demand Rehabilitation of Imre Nagy
WA2111111188 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Oct 88 p 3

[Text] (DPA) On Thursday evening [6 October] in downtown Budapest, 300 demonstrators demanded the rehabilitation of former Prime Minister Imre Nagy. Nagy was executed 30 years ago following the Hungarian uprising, which was crushed by Soviet troops. Under heavy police surveillance, the speakers at the peaceful demonstration demanded that the day of the uprising in 1956, 23 October, be designated as a national holiday. In exchange, either the holiday commemorating the "liberation" of Hungary by Soviet troops in World War II, 4 April, or the anniversary of the Russian October Revolution, 7 November, should be eliminated from the list of holidays.

Berecz: Nagy To Receive 'Proper Tomb'
AU2010140788 Paris AFP in English 1346 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Budapest, Oct 20 (AFP)—Imre Nagy, the leader of Hungary during the 1956 uprising who was executed and buried in a common grave, will be given a proper tomb here, a senior official said Thursday [20 October].

Janosz Berecz, the Communist Party Central Committee member in charge of ideological issues, said no date had yet been fixed for the exhumation and re-burial of Mr. Nagy and his Defense Minister Pal Maleter and journalist Miklos Gimes, who were executed with him.

The decision came four months [after] demonstrators on June 17, the 30th anniversary of the executions, called for the rehabilitation and entombing of the men.

Mr. Berecz, referring to the Janos Kadar government that executed Mr. Nagy and the two others, said "they should have been given more respect. Anyone who lives in this country, whatever the circumstances of his death, deserves a grave."

Since Karoly Grosz succeeded Mr. Kadar last May as Hungarian leader, the government has begun to refer to the Soviet-crushed 1956 insurrection as a "tragic event," rather than as a "counter-revolution," the only term allowed for the past three decades.

Spokesman Marosan on Economy, Abortion, Strikes
LD2010230588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] The Council of Ministers has held an unusually long session in Budapest. In 7 hours, only the first point on the agenda was discussed. The meeting finally reached a successful conclusion this evening. Our correspondent, Gabor Bankuti, reports:

[Bankuti] The government spent from 0900 until 1645 listening to a submission on the fulfilment of this year's plan, the expected development of prices, the financial situation, and the implementation of the finance and credit policy guidelines. It also discussed proposals concerning the preparations for next year's plan.

At that point, a break was taken, and it was used by government spokesman Gyorgy Marosan to hold his usual briefing. It also was possible to put questions to him.

[Begin recording] [Marosan] It was a very tough, sharp debate. According to the government's evaluation, the governmental organs engaged in planning work have carried out preparatory work dealing with every essential issue concerning the evaluation of the current economic processes and the determination of the tasks awaiting a solution. This does not contradict the fact that on several issues there is not yet any final stance. After all, the government will review once again the evaluation of the year 1988 and the tasks for next year after the professional and social bodies have expressed their views. It will develop its final stance only after that process, and it will then submit the budget to the National Assembly.

As for the evaluation of the economic processes, there are two things I would like to emphasize. First, the scope for maneuver in the Hungarian economy is very narrow. Second, the government's conviction has strengthened that the acceleration of economic activity and of resurgence can be realized. The economic and financial results attained in the course of the year provide a certain foundation for this. The Council of Ministers considers it even more important that the real processes determining the state of the economy have improved and that the economic outlook for attaining results has gained ground.

Of the so-called options A and B, the government has decided in favor of the former, which temporarily will represent a heavier burden for society and will require greater effort. This means that the plan for next year does not anticipate considerable economic growth and that domestic utilization will continue to decrease. The comprehensive improvement of the population's living conditions cannot be made a goal.

The Council of Ministers is clear concerning the circumstances in which the tasks that have been determined are in a number of respects reaching a certain strata's limit of tolerance. However, taking the present situation as its point of departure, the Council of Ministers considers that this is the only way of making progress. On the other hand, it continues to desire to prevent the acceleration of inflationary processes and the spread of undesirable economic phenoena.

All this, however, can be realized only with strict economy, with the further reduction of spending and subsidies.

[Unidentified reporter] Has a decision been made regarding the plan to increase retrospectively the interest on housing loans? This idea has aroused considerable outrage among the population.

[Marosan] At the Council of Ministers meeting the majority spoke out against increasing interest rates retroactively. However, it is true that no final decision was made on this matter.

[Reporter] Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz mentioned in the "Forum" program on television that the government is holding discussions concerning the funeral of Imre Nagy.

[Marosan] I cannot say very much more, either. The minister of justice is having discussions with those concerned. When there is more information—and this is likely to require another month or two—we shall immediately provide a briefing on it.

[Unidentified speaker] Last week the Council of Ministers acknowledged the report by the minister of justice concerning the funeral of those executed after being sentenced. This stresses that the right to preserve the memory of persons who died in this way is assured by our state, and that it is realized in our constitutional system as well.

The relatives of those executed after being sentenced have increasingly requested that they be allowed to bury the bodies, instead of the institution carrying out the sentence whose duty it is to do so. Consequently, the minister of justice has amended the regulations in this respect. Accordingly, the institutions carrying out the sentence inform the relatives that they can make arrangements for the funeral. If the relatives ignore this information, or if there is no relative, or if such a person cannot be found, the institution carrying out the sentence will then ensure funeral arrangements are made. In this case the body will be buried in a public cemetery, in a marked grave. If a relative entitled to do this later comes forward, and if he or she would like to have the body of the executed person interred again elsewhere, this will require ministerial permission. These regulations naturally apply to the burial of all sentenced people who are executed. [end recording]

[Bankuti] After the briefing, the spokesman went back to the Council of Ministers, and they discussed other topics until 1945. Of these, the most interest will perhaps be aroused by the amendment to the government decree on population growth policy. We could perhaps say that you have changed the conditions for the termination of pregnancies. Is this correct?

[Bankuti] What is the change?

[Marosan] Very briefly, it can be said that the abortion committees have, in the majority of cases, made their decisions in the framework of formal, bureaucratic, and sometimes humiliating procedures.

The government decree which has now been accepted makes the termination of pregnancies significantly more liberal. There are very many reasons for simplying the termination of pregnancy. These can be: a pregnant woman's illness; the serious handicap or incapacity for life of the embryo, which can be considered medically probable; if the pregnant woman is not married; if the pregnancy is the consequence of a criminal act; if the pregnant woman or her partner does not have a dwelling of their own, or an independently rented dwelling, into which they can move; if the pregnant woman is over age 35; if the pregnant woman has two children living; if the pregnant woman or her partner is serving a prison sentence; if the partner of the pregnant woman is doing military service. There are also other social reasons.

[Bankuti] Is this perhaps also aimed at easing the housing problem?

[Marosan] No, no! Of course there was no such point of view! It is simply a question that truly only those children who are wanted should be brought into the world.

[Bankuti] The other issue which interests many people is that you have now discussed the right to strike. Last week, while you were on vacation, State Secretary Csaba Halmos said that the government and the Trade Union Council fully agree on regulating the right to strike. However, the debate is still continuing as to which law this measure should be regulated under—by the Labor Code or ...

[Marosan, interrupting] Or in the trade union law which is under preparation.

[Bankuti] Obviously, this debate continued today.

[Marosan] The government considers that the rights connected with work stoppages and strikes should be regulated under the Labor Code. There are several aspects to this. The government does not view the right to stop work to be a trade union right, but rather some kind of citizens' right. The fact that a trade union law is to be created does not make the Labor Code unnecessary. The range of the Labor Code is, in my opinion, wider. On one hand it applies to employers, too, and it also applies to nontrade union members. Because not only trade union members can strike, it is not only a trade union which can initiate this. For this reason it seems more advisable, in the opinion of the government, that this should be regulated by the Labor Code.

Rakowski on Importance of USSR Visit, Departs

LD2010200288 Warsaw PAP in English
1843 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski left Thursday for a working visit of friendship to the USSR.

In his statement for the press, the prime minister emphasized the importance of his Soviet visit saying that the USSR is Poland's closest and most important ally. "It is thus understandable that while planning my foreign trips I have to start from the Soviet Union", he said.

Asked about topics he would like above all to tackle in his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, he said: "All important questions".

At Warsaw airport the prime minister was bidden farewell by representatives of the PUWP CC and the government with Jozef Czyrek and Janusz Patorski.

Foreign Ministry Holds Press Conference

LD2010212188 Warsaw PAP in English
1735 GMT 20 Oct 88

[By Waldemar Janiec and Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—Premier Rakowski's working visit to Moscow which began today, envisaged visits by Western politicians in the nearest future, the observances of the 70th anniversary of Poland's independence, a meeting of the heads of parliaments of Europe, the United States and Canada, an evaluation of the latest session of the U.N. General Assembly and the Vienna CSCE meeting, the issue of the Polish-GDR border in the Pomeranian Bay and problems of Polish tourists in Sofia—were some of the subjects addressed during today's press conference for Polish and foreign journalists given by the spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Stefan Staniszewski.

Premier Rakowski's Visit to Moscow [subhead]

The spokesman informed the journalists attending the conference that Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski was beginning a two-day working visit to Moscow today. During his stay in the Soviet Union the premier will be received by CPSU CC General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. He will also meet with members of the Soviet leadership. The visit is understandable because the Soviet Union is Poland's closest ally and biggest economic partner. The head of the Polish Government drew attention in his Sejm expose to the convergence of the Polish reforms and the Soviet "perestroyka." It creates a chance for a considerable, mutually profitable enrichment of mutual relations, similarly like the changes being implemented in other socialist countries.

Poland's Relations with Western Countries [Subhead]

A regular, gradual improvement of these relations is taking place of late, Staniszewski said. They are developing very well with such countries as Italy, Greece, Austria or Finland. This was also expressed by the premier in his address. At the end of November a visit to Austria by the premier is planned. Still this year, as well as in 1989, we expect visits by well-known Italian politicians. Next year we also expect an important visit from Finland.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed the arrival in Poland at the end of October (25-26) of Italian Trade Minister Ruggiero and a visit by Italian Foreign Minister Gulio Andreotti to be paid still before the end of this year.

On November 2, Britain's prime minister is to arrive in Poland. The visit by Mrs Margaret Thatcher should and may have an important meaning both for the development of bilateral cooperation and relations between Poland and the West in general.

The programme of the visit envisages two meetings between the British Premier and President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, as well as two meetings with Prime Minister Rakowski. Mrs Thatcher is going to visit Warsaw and Gdansk. In Warsaw's Skaryszewski Park, the British premier will unveil a plaque commemorating British airmen who lent help to Warsaw insurgents during the Second World War.

Speaking about Polish relations with some leading Western states Staniszewski stressed that they did not match potential possibilities and needs.

The United States, despite its earlier declarations encouraging us to bold reforms—in fact continues to stick to its wait-and-see position. Last week, the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead concluded his visit to Poland. The results of this visit constitute a step forward in mutual relations, though they are less than could be expected. As concerns improvement in mutual relations Washington uses a step-by-step method. The premier spoke in the Sejm about the need to move forward in longer steps. Therefore, one should recognize as promising Whitehead's statement during his press conference that "We have agreed with Premier Rakowski that we should aim at longer steps."

Mieczyslaw Rakowski also expressed our readiness to make "a significant progress, or even a breakthrough" in relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. The Polish side is convinced that there exist possibilities of attaining such a breakthrough in the possibly nearest future. We are waiting for a response of the FRG side.

We also hope that an improvement and enlivening will take place shortly in our relations with France.

Staniszewski said that Polish-French political consultations between the political departments of both countries, concerning Minister Olechowski's visit to France which will take place still this year, will begin on Monday, October 24th.

Conference of Heads of Parliaments [subhead]

Replying to one of the questions posed during the conference, Staniszewski said that the conference of the heads of the parliaments of Europe, the United States and Canada, organized on the initiative of Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski, will take place in Warsaw between November 26-28th.

It will undoubtedly constitute a useful and important chance for an exchange of views on the subject of the processes of all-European cooperation and the future development of our continent.

The participants of the conference intend to discuss also such leading subjects as parliaments and democracy, the role of parliaments in the development of cooperation in Europe including, first and foremost, the development of East-West interparliamentary contacts.

The adoption of a final document is not envisaged, however, a protocol from the conference containing the full texts of all addresses will be published, he said.

Observances of Poland's Independence Anniversary [subhead]

Asked about the foreign service's preparations for the observances of the 70th anniversary of Poland's regaining independence, Staniszewski replied that the observances would be dignified and ceremonious. This is an expression of the open view on the significance, role and continuity of national traditions.

Observances of the anniversary abroad have already begun. The observances proper will begin on November 1st when, in accordance with Polish tradition, flowers will be laid on the graves of outstanding Poles from the period of the Second Republic. Observances of the November 11th anniversary will be held in the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Envisaged are also anniversary events in Western countries: The FRG, Austria, the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia as well as in other countries of Europe and both Americas.

Assessment of U.N. General Assembly Session

Assessing the recently concluded session of the U.N. General Assembly Staniszewski stated that the debate confirmed the unprecedented growth of the international signifiacne of the United Nations organization. The U.N. is changing from a forum of presentation of stands of individual states into a platform of joint work on measures and methods of overcoming the existing global dangers. The prestige of the U.N. secretary general and of the Security Council has increased as well as the support for peace missions of U.N. forces.

The discussion at the assembly's forum has confirmed the striving of both the East and West for the strengthening of detente processes. Poland's voice, pointing to the topicality of Jaruzelski's Plan, harmonized with these efforts.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman recalled that Minister Olechowski had 33 meetings with heads of foreign ministries of other states. The sides discussed, in the first place, questions concerning bilateral relations, possibilities of further development of economic and political cooperation. Opinions were also exchanged on international issues, including the question of a prompt conclusion of the CSCE meeting in Vienna and prospects for disarmament negotiations to be started as a result of this meeting. The state of Polish negotiations with the Paris Club, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank was a significant subject of Olechowski's talks with diplomacy chiefs of Western states.

CSCE Vienna Meeting [subhead]

Asked about the possibility of a prompt conclusion of the CSCE Vienna meeting Stefan Staniszewski replied that one could, with a certain dose of caution, envisage that the Vienna meeting would wind up before the end of November. As a result disarmament talks should start shortly between the East and the West on two platforms: the meeting of 23 NATO and Warsaw Treaty states on conventional disarmament in Europe and of 35 CSCE States on security and confidence building measures in Europe.

The Polish-GDR Border in the Pomeranian Bay [subhead]

The journalists attending the conference asked Staniszewski about incidents which took place in the Pomeranian bay in the border strip between Poland and the GDR. Staniszewski explained that the incidents caused no losses and said that talks between both sides on the subject of delineating the water areas in the bay were continuing.

The idea is to work out a solution which would satisfy both sides, one which would have a lasting character. We are treating this matter very seriously and this is evidenced by the talks which are taking place at various levels up to and including the highest. Here I have in mind the meeting between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Erich Honecker in Wroclaw, about which I have already given separate information. At the present moment both sides are preparing for another meeting of experts.

Polish Tourists' Problems in Sofia [subhead]

Replying to a question concerning the problems with customs clearance and the expedition of large amounts of excess baggage carried by Polish tourists travelling by transit through Bulgaria, Staniszewski recalled that in the middle of this year the consular department of the Polish Embassy in Sofia undertook actions aimed at the introduction of simplifications by the "LOT" Polish airlines and Balkan carriers and speeding up of the transport on an increased number of passengers and their luggage.

At present the Polish and Bulgarian airlines have stated that the technical possibilities of the transport of an excessive number of cargo from Sofia to Warsaw have been exhausted. We hold the opinion that the problem can be solved only if the amount of luggage carried by Polish tourists conforms to the transport capabilities of "LOT" and Balkan airlines which are regulated by appropriate regulations.

Asked when full diplomatic relations would be established between Poland and the Vatican, the Foreign Ministry spokesman replied it was hard to state the exact date. He recalled that these relations were good and their prospects satisfactory. Appropriate documents are being drafted to regulate both Poland's relations with the Vatican and internal state-church relations. Parts of the two main documents: a convention between Poland and the Vatican as well as a law regulating the state-church relations, have already been adopted by both sides. Official relations exist de jure and de facto, it is only necessary now to give them their full form, Staniszewski stressed.

Asked about a visit of the IMF and World Bank delegation Staniszewski said that this will be yet another visit devoted to the same problem, which should in effect lead to the granting of credits to Poland. I hope that Poland will obtain a credit next year.

Roundtable Talks Reportedly To Start Next Week

AU2010140188 Paris AFP in English
1356 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 20 (AFP)—Talks between the government and its opponents on Poland's economic and social problems will begin on Wednesday at Jablonna castle, about 15 kilometers (nine miles) from here, informed sources said Thursday.

The talks, originally scheduled for mid-October, were put off when the government rejected the names of four delegates among 30 proposed by Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity trade union.

The official press has recently repeatedly rapped several members of the union delegation, including Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, two critics of the government.

Mr. Walesa said after talks with Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak on August 31 that the government had agreed to meet with its opponents and discuss topics including free trade unions.

Many doubt that the government seriously intends to legalise Solidarity, which was banned in December 1981 after 16 months of official recognition.

Walesa Threatens 'Fresh Strikes' If Talks Fail

AU2110082388 Paris AFP in English
2153 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 20 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on Thursday said he will call fresh strikes in Poland if talks between the government and the trade union opposition fail.

Round-table talks on Poland's economic and social problems will begin next Wednesday at Jablonna Castle, near Warsaw, informed sources said. The government has not confirmed the date however.

Mr. Walesa told journalists in his home city Gdansk that strikes would be ordered "for the good of the country" if "conditions demanded."

He did not elaborate, but several times in recent weeks, the leader of the banned union has threatened strikes if Solidarity was not legalised by Polish authorities.

The talks, originally scheduled for mid-October, were put off when the government rejected the names of four delegates among 30 proposed by Mr. Walesa.

The official press has recently repeatedly criticised several members of the union delegation, including Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, two fierce government critics.

Mr. Walesa said on Thursday that the names of his delegation were "not negotiable" and added that he would not give in to pressure to drop the two men.

"One could even think that someone is trying to sabotage the meeting and then blame it on Solidarity," he said

He reaffirmed that his objectives would be "pluralism in all forms" and the legalisation of Solidarity "which already exists and whose presence in public life is not questionable."

Many doubt that the government seriously intends to legalise Soldarity, which was banned in December 1981 after 16 months of official recognition.

Meanwhile in a statement released here on Thursday, Poland's 50 Catholic Intellectual Clubs (KIK's) backed Solidarity's demands for recognition and called for "parliamentary democracy" and "economic pluralism" in "all sectors."

Worker Activists' Meeting With Jaruzelski Opens

LD2110091588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Before I read the news, over to our correspondent:

[Unidentified correspondent] Good morning, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the hall of the House of Culture at the Ursus tractor plant. Here, just a moment go, the national conference of worker aktivists began. The conference was opened by first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The conference is of particular importance, for many reasons, among them being the presentation of opinions by workforces' representatives of manufacturing industries on the most important sociopolitical issues for the country today and, above all, economic issues. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski, Kiszczak Visit Militia

LD0710212188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Oct 88

[Text] On the occassion of the 44th anniversary of the creation of Security Service (SB) bodies and the Citizens' Militia (MO) Wojciech Jaruzelski in the company of Czeslaw Kiszczak visited functionaries of the 26th Police Station of the Citizen's Militia on Wilcza Street in Warsaw as well as the Crime Detection Institute of the MO.

Wojciech Jaruzelski familiarized himself with the functionaries' living and working conditions and was also interested in the scientific and research achievements which were aimed at the prevention and fighting of crime.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the SB and MO, Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak issued a special order. Addressing militia and SB functionaries, veterans of the service and members of the Volunteer Reserve of Civic Militia (ORMO), General Kiszczak thanked them for their selfless and responsible service. The Internal Affairs Ministry, the orders states, safeguarding the basic interests of the socialist state, assuring law and public order, carries out an important role in fulfilling the policy of reforms, dialogue, and national reconciliation.

Official Praises Security, Militia Forces

AU1210155188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Oct 88 p 3

[PAP interview with Czeslaw Staszczak, vice minister of internal affairs: "We Are in the Center of Transformations"—date and place not given]

[Text] On the eve of the 44th anniversary of the Security Service and the Civic Militia, PAP asked Czeslaw Staszczak, vice minister of internal affairs, about the most important tasks facing the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the period of significant political, social, and economic changes.

[Staszczak] The new fundamental changes continue to provide new conditions for an important part of our tasks. The penal law and the law on misdemeanors will be reformed and the new law on associations will produce crucial changes, which we will have to face. In all those areas representatives of our ministry play an active and creative role and make important contributions toward improving our laws and thus, our reality.

This is not happening only now. During all of the past 44 years we have been in the center of social and political changes in Poland. From the very beginning of our state, our functionaries have dedicated their strength, intellect, and, if necessary, lives to our fatherland. We have gone through a significant evolution with the people and the state and have now found ourselves at a qualitatively higher stage of the socialist state's development.

[PAP] Do you have in mind what is taking place under the scheme of broad democratization of society's life, improvements in state and economic structures, national accord, and so on?

[Staszczak] By all means. Our functionaries and soldiers live in our community and are under its influence as all citizens are. They criticize and reject that which is wrong and support that which is good for most people and Poland. Our functionaries and soldiers have welcomed the popular idea of roundtable deliberations, to which our people attach such great hopes. The fact that the minister of internal affairs is one of the main sponsors of that idea fills them with great satisfaction. All this shows that the community in which we live continues to reject the stereotyped ideas about our role and place in this community.

[PAP] As head of the political-educational department of your ministry, what can you say about security and militia functionaries?

[Staszczak] Our services have not been taken by surprise by the speed and scope of sociopolitical changes. On the contrary, party policies continue to be most welcomed and backed with militant and creative efforts to boost the pace of reforms.

My department continues its consistent research into the moods and moral-political condition of our functionaries and to conduct periodic opinion polls on topical subjects. Our analyses show that the support of our functionaries for the political methods of solving all social problems is gaining strength.

[PAP] You mean you reject force and repression as arguments in solving urgent problems?

[Staszczak] As I said at the eighth party plenum, the use of force can be justified only when the security of the state and internal order are in danger. This party and state principle is the basis of our performance, which

follows the party's political strategy. This strategy continues to be implemented by our ministry, 75 percent of whose functionaries are party members. (This percentage is even higher in the Security Service). Most of our functionaries are members of the Union of the Socialist Youth of Poland.

As you can see, the PZPR has a special place in our ministry. The ideo-political and civic education of our functionaries continues to be conducted in line with relevant programs, and this is why the level of our awareness is adequate enough to meet the needs of the present period of accord as well as of struggle.

[PAP] Your functionaries often take interest in things other than their jobs, engage in social activities, and are chairmen of organizations....

[Staszczak] Yes, because they are part and parcel of our people. They want to achieve something more as individuals and as citizens. Let me stress in this connection that 1,420 of our functionaries and soldiers, 373 firemen, and several thousand members of the Voluntary Reserve of Civic Militia and of our pensioners have been elected to people's councils at various levels. They have been nominated by the communities in which they live and work and whose appreciation they have won.

Those councillors are most active. Social activity can also be performed in our ministry, in which dozens of various social organizations—the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, the Society for the Promotion of Secular Culture, the Union of Polish Patriots, the Polish Red Cross, the Polish Tourist and Local Studies Society, hobby clubs, tennis clubs, rifle clubs, and so on—are extremely active. Thirty-two centers of scout instructors supervise over 3,000 scout details, and there are about 700 clubs of militia families. That blood donors are socially very important is shown by the fact that our functionaries donated over 11,000 liters of blood last year alone.

The functionaries' councils, which take care of social issues and work and rest conditions, are important bodies. They were legally sanctioned 3 years ago by the law on the security and militia services. These councils' boards, which are elected democratically, deal with social problems and correct people-to-people relations, helping to strengthen the authority of collectives and individuals. The boards' statutes make it possible for them to attend to almost all issues affecting our functionaries. In addition, the boards, whose work has won respect over many years, are assisted by party organizations and the political-educational apparatus.

[PAP] The Ministry's spokesmen talk about cadre difficulties.

[Staszczak] We have no real difficulties except in the largest conurbations, in which basic services are particularly short of patrolling militiamen. For example, a typical militia station in a Warsaw downtown district is responsible for the safety of some 70,000 inhabitants, 350,000 various officials and clerks, 3 railroad depots, 1,340 shops and service points, 15 embassies, 7 hotels, 7 student residences, 30 cafes, 25 restaurants, and Pewex and Baltona shops. About 1 million people visit the district around the clock.

Our tasks include the so-called dangerous zone, in which criminal elements, especially from outside Warsaw, are greatly concentrated. This year we have registered 1,173 crimes, mainly burglaries and thefts, 80 cases of banditry, and 705 misdemeanors in that zone. We need six additional foot patrolmen and 29 other patrolmen to completely fill the 65 positions provided for this purpose.

[PAP] How will you solve that problem?

[Staszczak] Through suitable organizational measures. For example, the certification of militia positions has enabled us to regroup our forces and resources to reinforce the most needy militia units. We also use the services of the Motorized Reserve of Civic Militia, if necessary, and continue to tighten our cooperation with our allies, such as the Voluntary Reserve of Civic Militia.

After a period of stagnation, positive trends have appeared in the the Voluntary Reserve of Civic Militia, which now numbers over 330,000 members countrywide and whose ranks continue to increase. That reserve has been crucially reorganized to make it a thoroughly democratic social organization. The Social Committee of this reserve has been set up, and its chairman is Wladyslaw Jonkisz, who is a member of the State Council.

[PAP] Who are the members of that militia reserve?

[Staszczak] Workers account for over 55 percent and peasants for 26 percent of the militia reserve. The number of plant and specialist units of this reserve, which play a very important social role in their communities, continues to increase. In the first 6 months of this year, members of that reserve took care of over 18,000 children from communities threatened by depravation, participated in most militia operations, patrolled streets, controlled traffic, and caught 5,500 criminals and petty offenders red-handed .

We continue to increasingly appeal to our people to help us in our activities, especially in preventive, explanatory, and educational ones. We continue to strengthen various forms of self-defense against crimes. We have received much help in response to our appeals for cooperation.

[PAP] That your functionaries have helped to provide telephones for Ursynow, which numbers 135,000 inhabitants, shows that these functionaries continue to increase their contribution toward the national economy.

[Staszczak] The value of the work performed by our ministry for the people, including payments to the National Health Protection Fund and the expansion of the central hospital, amounted to over Z4.6 billion last year.

We have reclaimed large tracts of farmland under the Bieszczady and Suwalki schemes, made 7,000 hectares of land ready for farming, built 50 km of roads, and constructed several hundred kilometers of drainage ditches.

In Ursynow we have helped to commission a telephone exchange involving 10,000 phone numbers. This year our functionaries and soldiers, who, as have their colleagues in Krakow, carried out the most arduous installation and construction work, and will have installed 21,000 telephone connections in villages close to Warsaw.

[PAP] Does such work interfere with combatting crime?

[Staszczak] This work is done primarily by young functionaries at the beginning of their service. This is their training before they start their proper service, which also requires specialized skills. For example, the functionaries who laid telephone cables in Warsaw and Krakow specialize in communications and will work in this line in civilian life.

[PAP] So you train your people for civilian life....

[Staszczak] We train soldiers doing national service in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and in the Motorized Reserve of Civic Militia. Actually we train everyone, trying to improve one's personality, morale, and social attitude, because requirements posed by service under present conditions include higher levels of knowledge, social awareness, culture, and conduct. Our consistent political-educational work and training makes this possible.

We support every ambition and help people to obtain better education and skills. We try to recruit various experts and to make proper use of their education.

[PAP] Does this mean that you believe not only in ideological prowess and dedication, but also in education and skills?

[Staszczak] Dedication and ideological prowess can go hand in hand with education and skills. Our ministry possesses a considerable intellectual and technological potential. The standards of our education continue to increase, and we possess specialized scientific research units famous in Poland and abroad. Our excellent forensic experts possess UN licenses. Units whose activities are kept at a low profile are also peopled by outstanding specialists.

Intellect and technology backed by society's assistance are basic conditions for scoring good results in combatting crime. Without these conditions we would not have been able to rapidly catch the Piotrkow Mazowiecki murderer, the murderers of Docent Strzelecki, the thieves of the church painting in Biecz, and the vandals who damaged the sarcophagus of St. Adalbert in Gniezno. We need dedication in extraordinary situations and good performance, reliability, discipline, and legality in day-to-day activities. Discipline and legality have also improved recently.

Consistent and severe punishment of culprits and preventive activities produce positive results as attested to by the fact that "extraordinary events" and service transgressions have now diminished. The press publishes the most glaring of such transgressions, which mean that we do not hide anything. Nevertheless, we do not see why negatively sensational campaigns should be promoted on account of these transgressions. We want to do our jobs with the curtain up, but we expect that events behind this curtain are objectively appraised.

[PAP] This means that he who defies the law cannot go unpunished, even if he wears a uniform.

[Staszczak] I know that punishment of the culprits wearing uniforms can be more severe than expected. However, social service places exacting demands and responsibilities on functionaries, who can claim social praise only if they meet these requirements and responsibilities.

[PAP] Do you have any wishes on the anniversary of the Security Service and Civic Militia?

[Staszczak] I wish for peace in Poland, the solution of problems which cause social frustration, improvements in social moods, the elevation of the authority of the law, and better respect for those who guard the law.

Armed Forces Day Celebrations Detailed

Jaruzelski Speaks

LD1210183288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2212 GMT 11 Oct 88

[Text] We are now broadcasting excerpts from the speech delivered today by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the solemn meeting to mark Polish Armed Forces Day:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Soldiers of the Polish People's Army, war veterans of all the Polish armed formations, dear comrades in arms:

The soldiers' deeds do not vanish, they last in the memory of generations and are the monument and testament and a signpost. The road of the soldier-wanderer was long and thorny. The ranks of those who watched with emotion in the (Sielce?) camp the white and red flag and later, that October dawn, lived their day

of blood and glory, have now thinned out a lot. Nearly the whole of Europe is covered by soldiers' graves of our fellow countrymen, from Oka to (?Spree), from Belorussia to Normandy, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. On the broken pillars of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier there are names of numerous battlegrounds, on which during World War II Poles fought and perished. There was one dream then, one internal compulsion: To liberate the fatherland, to rebuild the independent state, to ensure a safe existence for our nation. Because of our fate, we fought in various armies, in different uniforms, sometimes with just a white and red armband, sometimes even under a foreign banner, but always, we fought for the same greatest cause. Today, nothing is obscuring the common way. The Day of the Polish Armed Forces is the day of all the soldierly generations.

Twice during this century Polish military formations were created earlier than an independent state. It was on military colors that the white eagle first appeared as irrefutable evidence that Poland still is ours forever, that a free, sovereign republic shall return to the map of Europe.

Even in the most difficult periods, when we were oppressed by doubt and bitterness, the Army was and continues to be one of those institutions which the public invariably respects and cares for. [end recording]

[Announcer] These were extracts of Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at a soiree for the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Army.

Siwicki Hails Anniversary

AU1410161188 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12 Oct 88 p 4

[Speech by Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, at the 11 October Warsaw function to honor the 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Armed Forces]

[Text] Esteemed comrades and citizens, dear guests, and soldiers, the Polish People's Armed Forces, which grew in the struggle for the fatherland's freedom and which continue to stand guard over its independence and security, are 45 years old. We are happy with the praise addressed to them by Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski. Our highest award is our awareness that we productively serve our people by standing guard at combat posts and by extensively participating in economic and social activities.

Our primary duty is to faithfully serve our people. Jubilee celebrations are occasions to look at history and pay respect to our heroic past, which tells us about the foundations of our Armed Forces and about all of the experiences and lessons that are our spiritual and moral enrichment and that determine our Army's place in the life of the people and the state.

Our national past, which at times has been very complicated, and our "Polish roads" to freedom, including the roads taken 70 years ago and over 40 years ago, supply us with more extensive reasons for historical reflections. Although during World Wars I and II we waged the struggle for freedom under quite different historical, political, and military conditions, this struggle was marked by the fact that all the various Polish social and political forces sought to achieve liberation and independence and to set up a Polish state. In both wars our struggles were successful.

Past lessons are also of value today, and one of them is the truth, which is professed by most civilized societies, that only a sovereign state is able to ensure a successful future for the nation, and for it to take its worthy position among other nations and to be the basic guarantor of security. We all should help to create Poland's strength through dedicated and creative efforts because Poland is our common good.

Dear gathering, the Polish People's Armed Forces are heirs to the patriotic traditions of the Polish people's struggles throughout history. As heirs to fighters in national uprisings, to combats of World War I legionnaires, and to revolutionary armed feats, the Polish People's Armed Forces grew directly out of the struggles that began in September 1939 when the Poles, regardless of their divisions and grievances, were at one in resisting the Hitlerite invasion. Polish soldiers fought valiantly, despite the aggressor's crushing superiority. Hel, Westerplate, Mlawa, Kutno, Warsaw, Modlin, and Kock are permanent symbols of those soldiers' patriotism and valor.

Poland never capitulated, and its Armed Forces never laid down their arms. The September disaster did not amount to a lost war. The people did not assume the humbling stance of "wait and see." Large numbers of soldiers began partisan activities throughout the country and continued their struggle abroad by joining the Polish units in France, Great Britain, and the USSR. The Polish Armed Forces in the West were a real factor in the defense of the British Isles and in the battles for Narvik, Tobruk, Monte Cassino, and Normandy. Polish soldiers continued to support the Western allies wherever the situation was very difficult. They earned the sympathy and admiration of the liberated nations and fought abroad for the cause of our fatherland's liberation.

Partisan activities began in Poland even before the last September trenches were overrun. They were a continuation of our armed efforts, created an internal front against the occupier, forced him to keep back considerable forces, and were an effective protection for our people against biological annihilation.

The Home Army, the People's Guards, the People's Army, Peasant Battalions, other units, and thousands of Poles in the resistance movement in Europe constituted a considerable combat force.

Our people remember September 1939 as a symbol of the unfulfilled promises of our allies, of having been left alone, and of defeat. However, we should forever remember that it was exactly on 1 September 1943—the fourth anniversary of the Hitlerite aggression—that a Polish division left its camp near Ryazan for battle and began a new and important chapter of our armed struggles. The Berlin victory eliminated the bitterness of the campaign we lost in 1939.

The Tadeusz Kosciuszko Division, which was a nucleus of the new Polish Army organized with the USSR's comprehensive help, began its combat trail to Poland by joining the Battle of Lenino in Belorussia in October 1943.

Before joining the division, its soldiers had to live in the large northern and eastern tracts of the USSR, in which they often found themselves under painful circumstances. As members of the Polish Army in the USSR, they fought at the eastern front, to which the largest forces were committed and at which the decisive battles were fought during World War II. Polish regular units and Polish participation in the struggle against fascism in various areas of the world began to increase on a large scale at the time of the Lenino battle.

Following the exodus of the Polish units to the Middle East organized in the USSR by General Anders, the Lenino battle meant that we returned to our alliance with the USSR and to a lasting unity of class and national factors in the armed struggle.

In liberated Poland, the Polish People's Armed Forces were created by merging the Polish Army organized in the USSR with the partisan People's Army and were reinforced by soldiers of other partisan formations and by national draftees mobilized in liberated areas. The divisions of our Armed Forces continued to fight shoulder to shoulder with their Soviet allies and helped to capture the Vistula bridgeheads, to liberate Warsaw, to overrun the strongholds of the Pomeranian defense line, and to invest and capture Kolobrzeg, Gdansk and Gdynia.

Two Polish armies, an armored corps, a mixed air corps, and many independent formations joined the last victorious offensive—the Odra-Nysa offensive. Polish soldiers participated in the northern and southern prongs of the Berlin operation, and selected units assaulted Berlin and hoisted the Polish banner side by side with the Soviet banner on the ruins of Berlin, thus adding glory to our armed feats.

That was a great triumph for all Poles. Poland, which was defeated in '939, ended the war as a victor and as the fourth largest armed force of the anti-Hitlerite coalition: There were 400,000 Polish soldiers in the East and 200,000 Polish soldiers in the West.

Our fatherland will never forget its heroes. Their sacrifices have given us the right to sovereign existence within the just borders between the Odra and the Bug and between the Baltic and the Carpathians. They have given us the moral and political right to lead our lives in our own way and to participate in determining general peace and security, which are the most important issues for mankind.

Comrades and citizens, it is the duty of soldiers to serve the people, to stand guard over their security, and to create defense guarantees for the people's peaceful existence.

We have fulfilled that duty during the postwar period under various internal circumstances, some of which have been extremely complicated at times, and in an entangled political and military situation, which has developed in Europe and the world under the impact of the forces and actions hostile to peace and coexistence. Since 1955, under the arrangements of allied cooperation with the Warsaw Pact armies, we have continued to fulfill the task of ensuring security for Poland. We have received with pleasure and satisfaction Marshal Viktor Kulikov's greetings addressed to the soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces. On our Army Day, we cordially greet our comrades in arms—the soldiers of the Soviet Army and of the armed forces of all the states of the socialist community.

In recent months the political and military conditions for accomplishing our defense tasks have continued to improve, which is a result of a new thinking about the global issues of the present world, a fruit of the socialist countries' efforts for the benefit of peace, and a product of the efforts made by all societies and by politicians who are aware of the need to take note of reality. The package of proposals on limiting armaments and on building confidence in central Europe—these proposals are contained in the Jaruzelski Plan—is our own contribution toward efforts in favor of peace. This package continues to attract a growing interest on the part of European politicians and the public.

The long and traditional participation of Polish soldiers and officers in the UN peace missions and Armed Forces is also our contribution to peace. The outstanding achievements in consolidating peace have been acknowledged by the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize. We are particularly pleased by the fact that the UN secretary general has stressed the role of Polish soldiers in connection with that award.

The best way to ensure peace is to reduce armaments and to provide the guarantee of security which is the same and equal for every country. However, specific solutions are difficult to achieve because of many suspicions engendered in the past, which are still in force today. While the Warsaw Pact war doctrine provides for an

ever-increasing defense orientation, the NATO war doctrine continues to express deterrence and the maintenance of the so-called safe margin of superiority. Some NATO countries continue to promote various "compensatory concepts" and to equip their armies with the most sophisticated and powerful conventional weapons.

This makes it necessary for us to exert utmost efforts in the international arena to reduce military potentials and to maintain Poland's defense at a level that is necessary to match the actual scale of threats. We do nothing in excess, but neither must we do less than the situation requires. We are doing our best to ensure the state's defense at the lowest cost and at the minimum level necessary. We are doing this by making changes in the Armed Forces and reducing their numerical strength. We see great opportunities for the policy of reconstructing our Armed Forces in the emerging positive trends in international relations and we relate these trends to the changes in our own country and to the tendencies to promote the enterprising spirit and initiative. It is our inflexible resolve to improve the organizational structures of our Armed Forces, to modernize their performance, and to devise solutions that are courageous and modern in nature and thrifty in cost.

It is man who determines the quality of the Armed Forces and of every institution. Men are our greatest asset. We have a professional cadre which is dedicated and comprehensively educated and which is devoted to ideology and to civic responsibilities. Large numbers of reserve cadet officers, who are civilian university graduates, continue to assist the professional cadre in its training and educational work. We have good national servicemen and a valuable army of reservists, who are active production workers.

Military practice does not confirm the views of some people that young people are lazy and have no ideals. Only very few of our young people are afraid of manly military life and want other young people to do their national duty for them. Our young soldiers possess inexhaustible resources of enthusiasm, knowledge, and patriotic attitudes. All we have to do is to create conditions under which those virtues can fully develop.

The Polish People's Armed Forces, which are staffed by young people hailing from various segments of society, professions, and vocations and whose concepts of the world, customs, and experiences often differ, help to unite these young people's energy, knowledge, and skills in realizing the nation's overriding tasks.

In our daily soldierly life and training, we draw inspiration from the glorious traditions of the Polish people and their arms, on the ideology of the PZPR, and on the profoundly humanist principles of socialism. We continue to develop young people's civic and soldierly virtues, courage, dutifulness, and skills to make personal ambitions compatible with the good of the Armed Forces and the country.

The valuable human potential of our Armed Forces and the service performed by ever newer generations of draftees make it possible for us to be rational, effective, and thrifty in realizing our defense tasks.

Esteemed gathering, although Poland is experiencing difficulties which everyone knows, there is a chance for it to embark on the road of rapid development. We must not waste this chance. Nor must we waste time on waging sterile disputes. Our borders are guaranteed by reliable alliances, and we have significant economic and human potential and all conditions for reaching national accord. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, spoke about all this at the recent session of the PPR Sejm.

It is our duty to support the social coalition in favor of reforms and in favor of solutions that accord with the Constitution and enable all constructive forces of our society to build a modern state. Our stand results from our responsibility for the country, from our profound understanding of our domestic situation, and from the determining external military and political factors.

In order to implement our opportunities it is necessary to mobilize all patriotic forces in the same way as they were formerly mobilized in the face of dangers to our nation. The Polish Armed Forces view their duty of ensuring national security as a necessity in opposing all attempts to break the law in force and to undermine the authority and stability of the socialist state.

We will always serve our people faithfully and protect socialist Poland, which is able to forge ahead toward prosperity, thanks to national accord, economic reforms, and political renewal.

I offer my cordial thanks to the Polish people and political and social organizations for their efforts to strengthen our defense and for their friendliness and support for the Polish People's Armed Forces—the organized armed force of our country.

On our soldiers' day, on behalf of all members of our soldierly community, I cordially greet veterans in the struggle for Poland's freedom and independence—the Polish soldiers in the West and East during the war, partisans, and resistance movement fighters at home and abroad.

I greet our reservists, who helped to build the strength of our Armed Forces with the best years of their lives and who now continue to sustain our Armed Forces' good name through their social activities and production work, adding in this way to our fatherland's material and spiritual assets.

I thank my comrades in arms—soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces—for their dedicated service at all combat posts.

Long live the PPR—our fatherland—in prosperity and security.

Siwicki Interview on Armed Forces

AU1810140488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 88 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Army General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and PPR minister of national defense, by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "The History of the Military Is Part of National History"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Reperowicz] The Polish People's Armed Forces were established 45 years ago. How do you, Comrade General, as someone who has served in this Army since its inception, view the road that has been travelled since then? In light of this anniversary, how would you assess the role of the military in the country's life, its role in our state and society, both in the past and at present?

[Siwicki] The times in which we are living are not conducive to holding celebrations. The country is concerned about much more important matters, about issues concerning the future. We are speaking on the eve of the Sejm's appointment of a new government. We are searching for ways out of our current difficulties, which is something that can happen if, as is the case when people are put to the test, the efforts of the entire nation are combined. So, we have scaled down celebrations to mark the 45th anniversary of the Armed Forces, while seeking to give them a character that is modest, but also dignified at the same time, one that is appropriate to the importance of this anniversary, which is not, after all, just a military anniversary, but also a national one.

When the first division of the Polish People's Armed Forces was formed in May 1943 on Soviet soil, in the most difficult period during World War II, this was, from the point of view of Poland's chances of regaining independence, an event that marked a turning-point, as it combined the Polish people's struggle for independence with the military efforts of the Soviet Union. We entered a practical political and military alliance with a real force that was capable of smashing the military supremacy of the Third Reich. The leaders of the Western world were well aware of this when they concluded agreements on mutual cooperation and assistance with the Soviet Union.

On 12 October 1943, the 1st "T. Kosciuszko" Infantry Division, after no more than a few months training, became part of the Soviet front that smashed German positions in Belorussia at Lenino. We call this battle the beginning of the road, although it was not the beginning of the Polish people's liberation struggle against the German occupying forces. The struggle was waged without interruption from September 1939, both within the occupied country and outside its borders. The partisan units of the Home Army, the People's Army, and the Peasant Battalions represented a significant military force. The Polish soldier covered himself in glory in the defense of France, Norway, and Great Britain, and he fought courageously in Africa... All these struggles with the enemy, paid for with much blood, sapped and weakened the strength of the invader. The alliance with the Soviet Union and the battle of Lenino opened up the possibility of coming to the assistance of the exhausted people more quickly. This is because it was not as far to the Vistula from the Mereya as it was from, for example, Italy...

The Polish divisions and regiments that were first formed in the Soviet Union and then in liberated territory marched west below Polish flags as part of Soviet fronts. They fought for the liberation of Poland, took part in the creation of the state administration, and joined in the rebuilding of the national economy. In spring 1945, the Polish People's Armed Forces, which was already 4,000-strong, took part in the final victory of the offensive, and several of its units were involved in the storming of Berlin. The red and white flag standing amid the ruins of the capital of the Third Reich was a symbol of the victory won by Poles who fought on all the fronts in World War II.

When the shots ceased to ring out, the Polish soldier watched over the inviolability of the borders of the free fatherland, which had been recovered. From that time up to the present, he was and is present wherever the country needs strong and organized support. This fusion of military tasks with national needs means that the history of our Armed Forces is an essential part of the history of the Polish people. Recalling the history of the Armed Forces and the civic patriotic and defensive efforts made by all soldiers remains an extremely useful activity. It makes it possible to look at the past as if it were a mirror in which people's attitudes are reflected.

Please do not consider this a lack of modesty, in the biographies of soldiers—and this applies to soldiers of various generations—we will find a whole host of examples of model behavior. This particularly applies to a completely mature understanding of the essence of civic responsibility and an emotional and, at the same time, fully conscious feeling of being linked to the country, the people, and the community, which is expressed in acting in its interest, even at the price of personal sacrifice. Over the last 45 years, millions of young Poles, generation by generation, have performed military service, and this has benefited the country and them personally. Every period has had its heroes. What counted at the front was boldness and courage. Later what mattered was learning, work, and service—the conscientious and honest discharging of one's duties.

We did not spare any sweat on the firing ranges and the parade grounds while improving our combat skills. We did not spare any efforts in supporting the national economy. It is difficult to overestimate the efforts that soldiers made to construct industrial, communications, cultural, and social facilities and apartment blocks. The

Armed Forces were not untouched by dramatic events that have taken place. We were consciously involved in maintaining security and social peace in Poland. It will perhaps take time before one can fully appraise the role of the Armed Forces during the 1980's and, in particular, the trust that the people have placed in the Armed Forces in solving many difficult problems...

[Reperowicz] To what extent does the biography of the minister of national defense resemble that of other soldiers?

[Siwicki] I am a soldier, one of the several thousand Polish soldiers. I think that the path that took me to the Armed Forces and then to serve in the military on a career basis was very typical for people of my generation, especially for those who came from the east.

I was born in Luck in Wolnynia. My father was a non-commissioned career officer, a drum major in a military band. When the war broke out I was 14-years old and was attending the famous "Krzemieniecki" High School, which was popularly known as Wolynia's Athens. I dreamed about joining the Lwow cadet corps. The war interrupted all these dreams. The area in which I lived came under Soviet administration. In 1940, along with my mother, I was—as it was then called—transported to the far north, to the area around Arkhangelsk. One had to get accustomed to severe frosts, polar nights, shortages, and tough physical work. I got to know the hard work performed by the lumberjack in felling trees and that of the docker when I was unloading ships in Arkhangelsk. I was also a blacksmith's and a coachman's assistant.

My eighteenth birthday was at the end of 1943 and, like many of my contemporaries, I joined the Red Army. I served in the 105 battalion of sappers and quickly became an officer in charge of a team of sappers. We were demobilized from the Red Army with the establishment of the 1st "T. Kosciuszko" Division. I used the opportunity to join the first Polish military unit as a volunteer.

I found myself in Sielce on the banks of the Oka. I was sent to a school for non-commissioned officers and then to the Infantry Officers School in Ryazan. I graduated from the school at the top of my class in December 1943, and I remained at the school as a platoon commander and then as the officer in charge of a company of cadet officers. At the end of the war I held the rank of captain. However, as I had always wanted to be an officer, I did not leave the military on demobilization. After that, like every career soldier, I changed units and garrisons on several occasions. Then, after an interval of 20 years, I found myself in the ranks of the "Kosciuszko" Division once again, in 1963, and this time I was its commander. I have a high regard for all the places in which I served, but I consider it an honor to have been a member of the "Kosciuszko" Division. Moreover, I never fail to wear the division's decoration.

[Reperowicz] There has been no war in Europe in the past 40 years, but we still live under tension, however changeable. In the past few years detente has acquired a greater universal value. The Soviet-U.S. accord on eliminating and reducing armaments continues to acquire special importance. What impact has this accord had on our defense and our Armed Forces?

[Siwicki] The basic priorities of our defense policy and the main purpose of our Armed Forces have not changed. We are most open to detente proposals and actively help to find ways of reducing and eliminating conventional armaments in Europe, as is strongly attested by the Jaruzelski plan proposals. We want to ensure our security with the lowest possible level of our defensive potentials. History shows that secure borders are necessary to ensure a sovereign and independent development of a country's domestic life.

However, although tangible progress has been made in reducing nuclear weapons, the situation of conventional weapons has not changed. Negotiations have been going on in Geneva and Vienna for many years to reduce armaments, but no results are visible. In the meantime, improvements in conventional weapons of some NATO armies have been so advanced that the destructive power of these weapons can be compared to the power of the mass destruction weapons [srodki masowego razenia].

Nor have there been any changes in the NATO doctrines. The principle of deterrence, flexible response, and massive retaliation is still valid.

The independence, security, and territorial integrity of our fatherland are too precious to be put at any risk at all. That is why while we can argue how we should organize our domestic life, how to overcome our difficulties, and how to modernize the state and the economy, we must never engage in disputes that undermine Poland's security, which is our supreme asset. Every well-organized state ensures peace for its citizens, and that is why the necessary defense potential is a national necessity. We must have an army that matches our economic potential, one that caters to the country's defense, and one that is adequate to meet the threats which unfortunately still exist. Although defense has its cost, we do no more than what is necessary. We continue to protect Poland's security with the minimum of the necessary defense power, which is greatly enhanced by the reliable defense alliance with the united armed forces of the Warsaw Pact.

[Reperowicz] What about defense spending?

[Siwicki] We spend on defense as much as the country is able to afford. In the eighties defense spending amounted to 3.5-4 percent of our national income—that is, about 7 percent of the state budget. This represents the lowest level of our needs and the top level of the state's fiscal ability. That modest defense budget is adequate to meet our most urgent needs. Our Armed Forces' customary

virtue of thrift and rational economic management is greatly responsible for the adequacy of our defense budget. Our Armed Forces have for years observed a comprehensive system of regulations and duties that strictly govern the spending of material resources by all our echelons.

The effective functioning of that system has enabled us not to use considerable sums assigned to defense this year. Our decision to that effect was dictated primarily by our complicated economic situation. While reducing budgetary expenditures, we have modified our imports of arms and reduced orders for our own arms industry. We hope that our actions will help boost consumer production.

[Reperowicz] Some people say that, because of military discipline and subordination to orders, it is much easier for the Armed Forces to carry out certain measures than it is in civilian life. This is true of social pledges, for example.

[Siwicki] It is true that military organization makes it easier to effectively implement various tasks, but it is also true that orders are unable to solve all the issues of military life. In many areas, including the aforementioned social pledges, it is soldierly awareness and young soldiers' sense of awareness, dedication, and service for society which play the decisive role.

There has been much talk for a long time about national accord and about uniting our people, who profess various views, for the sake of the overriding affairs that influence the fate of our people and state. The Armed Forces are an example of this, because they continue to be joined by young people who hold differing views, some of whom are believers and some of whom are not. Some of them have even managed to become embroiled in conflict with the law and not to have worked a single hour in their lives. But as they continue to fulfill joint tasks, they become good soldiers. It goes without saying that educational work, which begins from the new recruits' very 1st day in the barracks, is of decisive influence on the development of such attitudes. That work integrates collectives around the most important duty of every soldier—the duty of defending the fatherland and of serving the people.

That is a good tradition of our Armed Forces. After all, 45 years ago various draftees continued to arrive in the Seltse camp of our First Infantry Division in the USSR—workers, former landowners, students, and illiterate peasants from Polesie. Our division represented a veritable mixture of views, attitudes, and customs. But those draftees were united by the common desire to liberate Poland. That wish did away with traumas, prejudices, and differences and made it possible to forget wrongs. After we had crossed the Bug, our Armed Forces continued to recruit former soldiers of the People's Army, the Peasant battalions, the Home Army, and other resistance units. Not all of them wished to reveal their secret grades, but they were magnificent soldiers and fighters.

Not only Soviet officers, but also prewar Polish officers played a tremendous role in organizing the Polish People's Armed Forces in those initial years of organization. Those Polish officers were especially irreplaceable in staff work and in training, in which they cooperated with Soviet instructors. They also helped organize the military foreign service.

I have mentioned these facts for two reasons. I would like to pay the respect that those Polish officers deserve, and to praise their contribution toward creating our people's defense, which is our national defense, especially because many of them suffered painful wrongs at the beginning of the fifties when they were subjected to repression by those who violated the rule of law.

The Polish people's trust in and respect for their Armed Forces are the result of patriotic attitudes and of the model discharge of duty by all generations of our soldiers. This trust and respect are payments for the struggle for independence, for the toil in training, for the hundreds and hundreds of bridges built across our rivers, for the donation of soldierly blood in tens of thousands of liters every year, for housing deposits that soldiers raise together for orphans from their modest pay, and for many other actions, but primarily for the certainty that our tomorrow is safe, because our soldiers guard it.

The Polish soldierly community has been especially pleased with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the UN peacekeeping forces, of which our soldiers have been members for many years. They enjoy a good reputation of commanders and colleagues from other national formations and fulfill their duties far away from Poland under conditions that are at times difficult. In doing this, they serve Poland and their people.

Siwicki Issues Order of Day

AU1410160088 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 Oct 88 p 1

["Order of Day No 28 Issued by Minister of National Defense on 10 October 1988"]

[Text] Soldiers, we welcome the 45th anniversary of the PPR Armed Forces in the conviction that we have well fulfilled our duties toward our people and socialist fatherland.

On the anniversary of the Lenino battle—the Day of the Polish Armed Forces—we declare our soldierly loyalty to the glorious traditions of Polish arms and pledge our unchangeable service for the people and our readiness to fulfill our patriotic duty to defend Poland.

Continuing the cause of those who fought for our freedom and independence and built the foundations of the people's state, today we participate in important changes in the country's life. We are in favor of reforms and of a strong and efficient Poland.

We continue to consolidate and strengthen Polish-Soviet brotherhood in arms born during the war against German fascism. Together with the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact we stand guard over the security of our socialist states, defending the most important human right—the right to live in peace.

Soldiers, I offer my cordial thanks to all soldiers for their exemplary service in Poland and abroad, for their dedicated efforts, and for their patriotic attitudes. I thank you for your great training and educational achievements and for your productive work for society.

I warmly greet and praise the soldiers who fought fascism on all the fronts of World War II, the veterans of the struggle for national and social liberation, and the builders and defenders of People's Poland. I greet soldiers of all generations—soldiers who are indefatigable in their service and work for the fatherland and who are always ready to defend it.

I greet the employees of the Armed Forces and the defense industry and all the Poles who through their work and social activities help to strengthen the country's defense.

I send cordial and fraternal greetings to all soldiers of the allied armies.

To honor the 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Armed Forces I order 24 salvos to be fired in Warsaw and in the military districts of Bydgoszcz, Wroclaw, Gdynia, and Poznan on 12 October 1988.

Signed: Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense.

Bishops Conference Discusses Current Issues

AU1210201588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Oct 88 p 2

[PAP report: "The 230th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate"]

[Text] The 230th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate took place in Warsaw on 5 and 6 October. It was chaired by Jozef, Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland.

According to the communique issued by the Episcopate Press Office, the conference heard reports about visits by Polish bishops to various countries, including Cardinal Glemp's visit to Belorussia.

The bishops acquainted themselves with the texts of draft documents worked out between representatives of the Episcopate and state authorities. These documents are meant to be a permanent basis for the normalization of relations between the church and the state and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the PPR and the Holy See. A positive assessment was made of this work.

The bishops also heard a report on talks with representatives of the state authorities at various levels on church and social topics. Such talks are important for the church's mission in Poland.

The communique proceeds to say that concern was voiced over the problems that are besetting Polish society at present. It is generally known how difficult the situation is in which the country has found itself. The prospects of emerging from the crisis are even more difficult because the country is burdened by enormous debts and the technological level of industry and the state of the environment are both deteriorating. The fact that rural areas are becoming impoverished due to the effects of the crisis is a cause for concern. This is causing farmers' incomes to fall and making young people leave rural areas, thus increasing the average age of the rural population. This is one of the reasons behind Poland's disturbing population structure.

The bishops are closely monitoring initiatives by social circles and state representatives aimed at finding a way out of this situation by means of an accord instead of confrontation. They listened with interest to a report on the preparations for the roundtable.

The bishops expressed their conviction that workers' rights, especially the rights of workers and farmers to have suitable trade unions based on their own choice, will be guaranteed. An accord on fundamental values ought to form the basis of a reform of the state and of its structure and national economy. This will commence a process of consolidating society, and will also serve to strengthen Poland's international position. The church will support undertakings that serve the common welfare.

The conference also discussed preparations for a second synod in Poland.

Ceausescu, Delegation Continue Visit to DPRK

Official Talks Begin

AU1910150588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1403 GMT 19 Oct 88

["Romanian-Korean Official Talks Begin"—AGERPRES headline)

[Text] Pyongyang (AGERPRES) 19/10/1988—Romanian-Korean official talks began at the Kumsusan Palace in Pyongyang Wednesday, 19 October, between RCP General Secretary, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, Mrs. Elena Ceausescu and Kim Il-song, general secretary of the CC of the Korean Workers' Party [WKP], president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The talks are attended

For Romania by: Ion Dinca, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, Constantin Mitea, adviser to the party general secretary and president of the Republic, Cornel Pinzaru, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Nicolae Girba, Romania's ambassador to Pyongyang,

For Korea by: Kim Yong-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WKP, vice-premier of the Administration Council, and minister of foreign affairs, Hong Song-nam, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the KWP, vice-premier of the Administration Council, chairman of the State Planning Commission, Kim Pok-sin, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WKP, vice-premier of the Administration Council, Kim Tal-hyon, minister of foreign trade, and Cho Yong-kuk, ambassador of the DPR of Korea to Bucharest.

President Kim Il-song most warmly welcomed the visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu are paying to the DPR of Korea, expressing his satisfaction at the new summit dialogue which evinces the growing course of relations between the two parties, countries and peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the particularly warm reception extended to them and conveyed the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party, the Administration Council of the DPR of Korea, the Communists and the Korean people a warm revolutionary salute and best wishes. The RCP and Romanian state leader expressed his conviction that the interviews and talks on the occasion would be another major contribution to the development of the traditional Romanian-Korean ties of friendship and collaboration. During the talk, information was exchanged on the process of socialist construction in the two countries, the activity and preoccupation of the two parties and peoples for the translation into fact of the targets set by the Thirteenth RCP Congress and the Sixth KWP Congress, respectively, for the fulfilment of the plans and programmes for socioeconomic development in Romania and the DPR of Korea.

Views were also exchanged on the current development stage and prospects of the Romanian-Korean relations in the political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other areas of joint interest. It was stressed that the national economies of the two countries, that undergo continual growth and modernization, provide possibilities for an increasing volume and diversification of economic exchanges, for the expansion of collaboration and cooperation in production, on mutually advantageous terms. It was also agreed to broaden collaboration in science, education and culture just as in other fields of activity.

Reiterating willingness to further expand and consolidate the fine links between Romania and the DPR of Korea on a political plane, the two party and state leaders underlined that that was in the interest of both peoples, of their progress and prosperity, of the cause of socialism and peace.

During the talks several aspects of the current international life and the communist and working-class movement were also approached. It was stressed that on such matters the Romanian Communist Party and the Korean Workers' Party, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea had common or very close positions and points of view, which is a good basis for a still broader development of collaboration and cooperation in the international arena, for a growing contribution of Romania and the DPR of Korea to the efforts toward peace, disarmament and the building of a climate of security and detente worldwide.

More on Meeting

AU2010145588 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Official talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, and Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] and DPRK president continued in Pyongyang today.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Kim Il-song emphasized the need to work with determination to lessen tension in the international arena and to resume and strengthen the policy of detente, cooperation, and respect for independence. The two sides also concluded that the basic problem of our time is halting the arms race and achieving disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and ensuring peace throughout the world.

The two party and state leaders emphasized the need to solve disputes between states solely by political means and negotiations.

Comrade Kim Il-song reaffirmed his country's determination to unflinchingly work toward the peaceful and independent reunification of the homeland and expressed warm thanks for the support granted by the

Romanian party and state, by our people, and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally, and toward achieving this vital aspiration of the Korean people.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu reaffirmed the RCP's and Socialist Romania's active support for the just struggle waged by the Korean people to restore their national unity and for the DPRK's constructive proposals and President Kim Il-song's initiatives aimed at decreasing tension in the Korean peninsula and at creating conditions for the peaceful and independent reunification of the homeland, without any outside interference.

Reviewing the results of the visit and the talks held on that occasion, the two party and state leaders expressed full satisfaction at the new Romanian-Korean summit dialogue and at the understandings concluded, emphasizing that they will give a new impetus to cooperation between the RCP and WPK, as well as between Romania and the DPRK.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Kim Il-song reaffirmed Romania's and DPRK's determination to strengthen their cooperation in the international arena in order to increase their contribution to the constructive solution of today's complex problems in the interests of the peoples.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual esteem and understanding that characterize the traditional relations between our parties, countries, and peoples, and between the two party-state leaders.

The exchange of opinions continued during a luncheon given in honor of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu by Comrade Kim Il-song and Comrade Kim Song-ae. During the luncheon, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu held very cordial talks with Comrade Kim Il-song and Comrade Kim Song-ae.

Honorary Titles Awarded

AU2010200088 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Pyongyang AGERPRES, 20/10/1988—A ceremony took place on October 20, at the Congress Palace in Pyongyang within which the title of Doctor Honoris Causa was handed over to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister of Romania, chairman of the National Council of Science and Education.

The arrival of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, together with President Kim Il-song, in the big hall of the Congress Palace, was welcomed with loud applause by the participants in the ceremony—academicians, researchers, other men of science, university teaching staff and students.

The ceremony was opened by Kim Kyong-pong, president of the Academy of the DPR of Korea.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was conferred the title of Doctor Honoris Causa in economic sciences, for outstanding merits in party and state activity, in Romania's socio-economic development, as well as for the contribution made to the strengthening and development of the friendship and solidarity between Romania and the DPR of Korea. The title of Doctor Honoris Causa in chemical sciences was conferred on Mrs Elena Ceausescu for her great merits in the development of science and technology, especially in the creation of new branches of Romanian chemical industry, as well as for the contribution made to the strengthening and development of the Romanian-Korean friendship and solidarity.

To the applause of the attendance, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were warmly congratulated by President Kim Il-song.

Yi Chong-ok, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Workers Party of Korea, vice-president of the DPR of Korea, chairman of the State Committee on Assignment of Scientific Titles of the DPR of Korea, made a congratulatory address on the occasion for the distinguished messengers of the Romanian people.

President Nicolae Ceausescu then took the floor.

DPRK Trade Union Delegation Concludes Visit

AU2010203788 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1988—A Korean trade union delegation led by Kim Yong-nam, vice-chairman of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, visited Romania to exchange experience at the invitation of the GTUCR [General Union of Romanian Trade Unions] Central Council.

The Korean delegation had talks at the Trade Union Central Council, saw round enterprises and places of social and cultural interest in Bucharest and Brasov, Arges and Prahova Counties, met trade union activists and executives of the visited enterprises and institutions.

At the end of their sojourn in Romania the Korean trade union delegation were received by Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the GTUCR Central Council. Opinions and information were exchanged on the occasion on the state of socialist construction in the two countries and the activity of the trade unions. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the fine friendly and cooperative ties established between the two countries and peoples, on a trade union line included, as well as the belief that the current visit to the DPR of Korea of the RCP general secretary and president of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mrs. Elena Ceausescu, the talks with Kim Il-song, general secretary of the CC of the

Korean Workers' Party, president of the DPR of Korea, would go down as another significant contribution to the strengthening of the traditional links of friendship and solidarity, of manysided cooperation between the two countries, parties and peoples.

Zhou Peiyuan-Led PRC Delegation Ends Visit

AU2010204688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1921 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1988—A delegation of the National Council of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, headed by Zhou Peiyuan, vice-chairman, paid a visit to Romania over October 11-20, 1988, at the invitation of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF].

The delegation conducted talks at the SDUF National Council, the Grand National Assembly, the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and saw round economic and socio-cultural units in Bucharest and in Timis and Arges Counties, where they met with representatives of the local SDUF bodies.

The delegation was received by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

During the talks satisfaction was expressed at the fine relations of friendship and collaboration existing between the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front in Romania and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, between the two countries and peoples. The mutual wish was expressed to strengthen further the collaboration on multiple planes between the political bodies in Romania and People's China, in the spirit of the relations of close collaboration existing between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, of the summit understandings.

The delegation left Bucharest for home on Thursday evening.

Andrei Receives U.S. Trade Official

AU2010203988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2000 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Romanian - American Economic Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1988—Deputy Prime Minister of Romania, Stefan Andrei received on Thursday, 20 October Robert Robertson, vice-chairman of the Romanian-U.S Economic Council, vice-president of "American Businesses for International Trade" who is in Romania for the Bucharest International Trade Fair.

The interview was attended by Ioan Ungur, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Andrei, Ungur Receive Iraqi Trade Minister

AU1610191488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 16 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/10/1988—Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei and Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received on Sunday, 16 October, Muhammad Mahdi Salih al-Rawi, minister of trade of the Republic of Iraq, now in Romania for the Bucharest International Trade Fair.

The talks occasioned a survey of the current stage of bilateral economic ties, as well as of the possibilities of expanding and diversifying mutual goods exchanges and of developing the Romanian-Iraqi cooperation in areas of joint interest.

Commission With Zimbabwe Concludes Session

AU2010184688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 20/10/1988—The sixth session of the Joint Romanian-Zimbabwean Governmental Commission of Economic and Technical Cooperation concluded in Bucharest on Thursday, 20 October.

It surveyed ways of further developing the economic and technical cooperation between the two countries in areas of joint interest, of expanding and diversifying mutual goods exchanges, in the spirit of the decisions made and understandings covenanted during the Romanian-Zimbabwean top-level meetings.

At the end of the proceedings, the two co-chairmen of the commission, Radu Paunescu, minister of machine-building industry of Romania, and Callistus Ndlovu, minister of industry and technology of the Republic of Zimbabwe, signed the protocol of the session.

During his sojourn in Romania, the head of the Zimbabwean delegation met Constantin Radu, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council, mayor-general of the Romanian capital. He also had interviews with Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Nicolae Vaidescu, minister of electrical engineering industry, and saw round places of economic, social and cultural interest in the capital and in Constanta and Prahova Counties.

Traian Pop Appointed Ambassador to Hungary

AU1710150888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Oct 88 p 5

[Text] By presidential decree, Comrade Traian Pop has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Hungarian People's Republic.

Serbs, Montenegrins Hold Protest in Kosovo Polje

AU2010150188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] About 15,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from all over Kosovo as well as from other parts of Yugoslavia gathered in Kosovo Polje this morning. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports:

The gathered citizens first of all expressed their dissatisfaction with the grave situation in Kosovo. In contrast to other meetings and rallies, this time there were no banners. This morning in the schoolyard of the Aca Marovic primary school there were nearly 15,000 citizens.

Some 10 minutes after 1200, Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Kacusa Jasari, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, arrived in the company of many Pristina commune officials.

Their arrival caused a storm of protests. When Marko Orlandic addressed the meeting, the gathered people turned their back and started to disperse. Not even appeals and persuasion could stop them. A section of those gathered, around several thousand, only returned when Dobrosav Bjeltic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, started to speak. Answering the citizens' shouts—we will not let Ckrebic go—he said that at present the most needed thing is a reasoned dialogue and asked the gathered people to facilitate, with dignified behavior, the implementation of the party tasks adopted at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

Stevan Marinkovic, speaking on behalf of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, expressed dissatisfaction with the outcome of the LCY Central Committee session. Marko Orlandic spoke after him. He was often interrupted by shouts of dissatisfaction. He briefed the citizens with the conclusions of the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

At the same time a large group of citizens which had left this meeting gathered in the square in front of the railroad station. There were some 10,000 of them. Therefore, one could say that two simultaneous gatherings were held in Kosovo Polje.

Dobrosav Bjeletic spoke again. The citizens demanded the replacement of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and that Kolj Siroka, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Azem Vlasi be called to account.

They were also dissatisfied with the tendered resignation of Dusan Ckrebic. After 1 hour spent in front of the railroad station, some 10,000 people returned to the Aca Markovic schoolyard at the invitation of Bogdan Kecman. They continued the rally there.

More on Protest Meetings

LD2010125888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Kosovo Polje, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—Following a 20-minute long demonstration of dissatisfaction with Marko Orlandic and Kacusa Jasari, the majority of citizens gathered at a protest meeting in Kosovo Polje accepted a call by Dobroslav Bjeletic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Comittee, for dignity and for attention to hear the speakers.

The first to speak was Stevan Marinkovic who said that the 17th session failed to meet the expectations stemming from the crisis. The Central Committee members did not make it clear, except verbally, that the problem of Kosovo is theirs at the same time. We welcome the conclusions by the Central Committee on the need for a reform in the LCY and for an economic reform, the acceptance of the resignations and the formation of a working group to establish the responsibility of Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svetislav Dolasevic, Marinkovic said.

Protesters Present Demands

LD2010184588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Kosovo Polje, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—More than 20,000 Serbs and Montenegrins at this afternoon's part of the protest in Kosovo Polje adopted conclusions which had been prepared in the meantime by "representatives of these nations from all parts of Kosovo." In them demands are made for the LCY Central Committee Presidium to call on the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium to submit its resignation within 5 days, for members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities in the Provincial Committee Presidium to do this immediately in order to facilitate the beginning of the denouement of the Kosovo drama. The demand is made of the security organs that they guarantee the peaceful attendance of school by pupils of Serbian nationality, and if they do not do this, their accountability and dismissal is called for.

A "Committee for the Self-Defense and Survival of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija" was also formed, which will visit Dr Bozidar Colakovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, tomorrow and present its program to him.

Pristina Students in Belgrade, Threaten Hunger Strike

AU2110113788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] A group of 35 students from Pristina, Serb and Montenegrin nationals, have come to the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade. They talked to Borisav Jovic,

president of the Serbian Assembly. They said that they had decided to start a hunger strike because of the situation in Kosovo, if the questions they raised are not positively solved.

They demand that the entire provincial leadership tender its resignation or be relieved of duty within 6 hours. They demand that criminal responsibility of every provincial leader who has held a post since 1981 be examined. They stress that they will start the hunger strike also because of the disunity expressed at the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

Borisav Jovic tried to persuade the students, who had arrived in Belgrade accompanied with several older people, that a hunger strike was not appropriate at this moment, that the replacement of the Kosovo leadership should be carried out in a regular and statutory way and not through pressure.

After a lengthy talk and persuasion, the group refused to accept the advice to give up the hunger strike and set off toward the New Belgrade student dormitories to start the strike there.

They stress that they do not want to go back to Kosovo until Kacusa Jasari, Azem Vlasi, and other Kosovo leaders who, as they put it, are to blame for the unbearable situation in Kosovo, step down from their leading posts.

Students Leave for Pozarevac Rally

AU2110132288 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] After the talks they had with Borisav Jovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, the group of 35 Pristina students, Serb and Montenegrin nationals, left for Pozarevac to attend the solidarity meeting to be held there.

The Pristina students had come to Belgrade because they were dissatisfied with the outcome of the 17th LCY Central Committee session. Among other things, they demanded that the entire Kosovo leadership should tender its resignation or be relieved of office.

50,000 Attend Rally in Pozarevac

LD2110164288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Summary] Pozarevac, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—About 50,000 people attended a solidarity meeting in Pozarevac today from 8 Pozarevac municipalities. They came to express solidarity with people from Kosovo and express support for the Serbian leadership. The meeting was also attended by citizens from Kosovo Polje. The opening speech was delivered by Miodrag Savic, president of the Pozarevac SAWP municipal conference, who spoke about dissatisfaction with results in the struggle against the counterrevolution, saying that after the 17th LCY Central Committee session no one will have the right to deceive the people of Kosovo and prevent Kosovo's most important problems from being solved.

Velika Plana Meeting Calls For Country's Unity

LD2110165088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Summary] Velika Plana, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—About 25,000 people, including representatives from Radovis in Macedonia and Budva in Montenegro, attended a solidarity meeting in Velika Plana [near Smederevo] this afternoon. Kosovo Polje also sent a delegation there to the meeting. The meeting called for all the country's patriots to stand up against the counterrevolution's supporters in Kosovo. The meeting participants sent a telegram to the SAWPY, the Serbian SAWP, and the trade union organizations of Yugoslavia and Serbia. The message concerned genuine differentiation and replacement of incompetent cadres by capable ones who would fight for the country's unity.

Kosovo Students Continue Boycott of Classes

LD2010211988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0934 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Summary] Pristina, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—The majority of high school students in Kosovo and the students in Pristina University, who attend lectures given in the Serbo-Croatian language, are continuing their boycott of lectures to protest the situation in Kosovo. The boycott has now lasted for 20 days and so far no one has been held responsible for it. All that has been done is to appeal to the students to end the boycott. The latest appeal was that sent by the assembly of the provincial self-managing community of interest for upbringing and education in Kosovo.

The students had said they would end the boycott by the time of the 17th LCY Central Committee Plenum. However, since the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are obviously dissatisfied with the results of the 17th session, it is unclear when the boycott will end.

Kosovo Serbs Protest Integrated Schools

AU2010121288 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Oct 88 p 18

[S. Popova report: "'No Place for Albanians in the Village School!'"]

[Text] Vucitrn, 14 Oct—The Serbs and Montenegrins of Priluzje, near Vucitrn, are categorically refusing to allow their children to go to classes alongside their Albanian fellow-pupils in the Vuk Karadzic Elementary School.

Local citizens reiterated this standpoint at a SAWP meeting, in which Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium; Rahman Dedaj, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; Predrag Todorovic, deputy secretary of the

Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs; Miodrag Ignjatovic, deputy chairman of the Serbian Committee for Education and Culture; and Vucitrn communal leaders also took part.

At the start of the meeting, Dragisa Morganic, president of the LC Communal Committee, informed those present of the efforts of organized socialist forces in Vucitrn to stabilize the local political and security situation, guaranteed greater safety for local citizens and their children, and said that Serbian and Montenegrin children will be able to attend the school without fear.

In the speeches that followed, the citizens of Priluzje discounted these efforts of organized socialist forces and put forward strange proposals. They said that if Albanian children from Stanovac are still allowed to attend classes in this school, the Serbian and Montenegrin children will go by bus to Belgrade. Anybody who supports the maintenance of the status quo, according to them, supports irredentism. As the local inhabitants put it, they had built the Priluzje school with their own voluntary contributions and labor, and they said that the Albanians, if they can build mosques, can also build schools for their children. Or, they added, "Make room for Albanian children in Donji Stanovac, Gornji Stanovac, and Velika Reka, because everybody knows that the children from Graca go to school in Milosevo and in other communes for fear of the Albanians from Donji Stanovac."

The following proposals were also heard: If the Priluzje villagers' demands are not met, then the Vucitrn communal leadership must be dismissed, or, as a final measure, the school will be pulled down!

Rahman Dedaj, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, began his speech by calling for understanding and an agreement to solve the problem, but he was not allowed to express his views, and was interrupted by those present!

That the meeting took a curious turn is shown by the fact that, even though, as we have reported, the incident where the slogan "We will give up Tito, but not Kosovo" was shouted has still not been explained, this matter was nevertheless raised again, and citizens refused to accept that this slogan could have been shouted by one of their number. Once again, the RILINDJA correspondent was blamed for "spreading false information among the public."

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The RILINDJA Correspondent—Persona Non Grata [subhead]

RILINDJA's Vucitrn correspondent also followed the first part of the Priluzje SAWP meeting. The worst thing was that the meeting declared him "persona non grata" and he was forced to leave the hall. He was insulted, his personal integrity impugned, and called a "Ballist" [member of Albanian wartime noncommunist resistance movement], and it was said that "He writes like the scriptwriter of the film "Guards of the Mist," that "He writes to please Azem Vlasi," and so forth. The presence of our correspondent was several times put to the vote, with unanimous results: "Either he goes, or we go!" Like a well-trained chorus, the meeting shouted "Get out or we will throw you out!" In view of the deteriorating situation, and under the protection of members of the public security service, our correspondent was finally, after an hour, forced to leave the hall by an emergency exit. Thus today's report is only partial.

This is how hysteria smothers reason. [end of boxed passage]

Protest by 30,000 Kosovo Serbs Ends

LD2010185188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Pristina, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—The 6-hour protest meeting of more than 30,000 Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins ended this evening at 1730. The majority of those assembled accepted the call of Milomir Minic, executive secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee, for them to disperse. At the very end, however, there was almost an incident, when Slavko Djumic irresponsibly took the platform calling on those present to set off for Belgrade this evening. The organizers of the meeting removed him from the platform, after which those assembled returned peacefully to their homes.

18th LCY Central Committee Convenes 19 Oct

Zarkovic Gives Introductory Report

LD2010170188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 19 Oct 88

["LCY Central Committee: 18th Session—Zarkovic—Introductory Report"—TANJUG headline; monitored TANJUG transmissions did not carry initial portion of this item; transmission begins with TANJUG part 2 of a total of 13 parts]

[Text] [dateline not received]—The public debate, like all activities undertaken so far in preparing the constitutional changes, which proceeded under the circumstances of an increasingly harsh crisis, has been marked by ideopolitical confrontations and hesitation over these changes. On the one hand there has been resistance to the changes, motivated by interest in maintaining a technocratic and etatist monopoly over the extended reproduction, and also by a strongly articulated dogmatic mind and an attempt to realize them from such positions and interests. On the other hand, pressures from the bourgeois ideology have surfaced that are aimed at exploiting the work on the constitutional changes as a chance to change the foundations of the system. In our assessment the most important fact is that the main feature of most

of the public debate was a strong demand by communists, working people, and citizens for the formulation of solutions for constitutional changes that will strengthen socialist self-management production relations; the cohesiveness and stability of the socialist, self-management, nonaligned Yugoslavia; the equality, brotherhood and unity of its nations and nationalities; and also the country's overall potential to more succesfully participate in current world trends, Zarkovic stressed. The debate has shown the growing awareness of the inevitability of a radical reform as an essential prerequisite for emerging from the crisis, a reform based on respect for economic laws, a more democratic political system, its rationalization and deregulation—which would lead to a liberation from state regulations and not to a redistribution of etatist powers among republics, provinces, and the federal administration.

Thanks to the result of the public debate, the quality of proposed changes as compared to the solutions contained in the draft constitutional amendments, especially in the socioeconomic system field, has been significantly raised.

I think, Zarkovic added, that these are radical changes affecting a certain number of issues, which will produce more complete constitutional preconditions for overcoming more successfully our difficult economic problems, and of making prerequisites for speedier growth and development.

Following the explanation of the basic solutions Zarkovic said that with the proposed changes in the socioeconomic system conditions are created for the implementation of the economic reforms advocated by the LCY Conference and in line with the ideopolitical orientations which it set out.

In the SFRY Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Questions and in the corresponding commissions of the assemblies of the republics and provinces and their working bodies there was a very high degree of unity during the formulation of all these proposals. The only proposal in this sphere on which agreement could not be reached is the one relating to extra income derived from the monopoly position of an organization of associated labor or from its having a privileged position in the market. Attention is justifiably drawn, Zarkovic stressed, to the fact that as a result of this there will be a continuation of the illegitimate syphoning-off of income in this way.

In the constitutional commission there were warnings that the provisions on the unlimited right of ownership by citizens of apartments, houses, business offices, and the means for doing work will cause profiteering to burgeon in our society. Such a warning was also issued by the LCY Central Committee Presidium. However, this proposal was accepted starting from the need to channel citizens funds into resolving the major economic problems of society; while the provision in which the conditions are set out, in a federal law, for the use of apartments and these resources owned by citizens for the purpose of generating a profit, could be a dam against the uncontrolled growth of profiteering. Attention was drawn to the fact that the constitution ought to lay down not only the right of workers in work organizations to establish by statute which rights they will realize in the work organization and which in the basic organization of associated labor but also the criteria concerning when they are obliged to set up a basic organization of associated labor. However, the stance was in keeping with the principle of the right to self-organization that this should be decided upon by the workers in the work organization.

Although a number of questions raised in the public discussion are not included in the text of the draft constitutional amendments relating to the political system, primarily because agreement on them was not achieved, these amendments also contain solutions that, compared to the situation in practice, represent a significant step in the development and further building of our system. Here I have in mind solutions setting out the decision-making method in associated labor, and also solutions that create internal links and that rationalize the delegate system with the aim of achieving a more effective, and in practical terms, really new step in the development of democracy, as well as changes in the electoral system.

In the text of the proposed amendments, as compared to the text of the draft amendments, there is a significant expansion—in keeping with the needs of market production and the development of self-management—of the scope for independence and freedom of workers in associated labor. It is a matter of selecting the forms in which they organize themselves and selecting their decision-making methods. On these questions the Constitution sets out as an obligation only those solutions that are necessary for the unity of production relations and for the legal security of the subjects of market transactions.

In the text of the draft amendments in the political system field, however, a number of solutions contained in the draft amendments have been omitted. I would particularly like, Zarkovic said, to stress that it is a great pity that the proposal that the federation establish joint bases for education and upbringing, which in the public debate obtained very broad support motivated by the real needs for greater unity in this field, has been omitted. It is omitted because of the impossibility of agreement being reached between the republics and provinces on this question. It has been agreed that discussions on this and the work on the constitutional changes be continued, while efforts are increased to insure, by agreements between the republics and provinces, the necessary degree of unity in this field, which is of great importance for the achievement of our unity as a whole, especially the unity of the Yugoslav market.

After indicating some further postponed questions in the domain of the political system, Zarkovic stressed: It is well-known that from the beginning of the work on the constitutional changes there has been unity on the need for changes that will contribute toward the more efficient, rational, and responsible functioning of the federation and the strengthening of its role on the basis of full national equality and the increasingly large influence on all decisions in the federation of workers organized on the basis of self-management. However, at the same time differences also were expressed regarding the concrete changes that should lead to the realization of these goals. These differences were expressed not only in the constitutional commissions and institutions of the system, but in the public debate as well.

THanks to the efforts of the Constitutional Commission, its working bodies, and patient dialogue, the initial differences were reduced, but a number of questions continue to remain open, and consequently were not incorporated in the text of the draft amendments.

Referring to the basic innovations being proposed in the section of the constitution on relations in the federation, Zarkovic particularly stressed that the Constitutional Commission has succeeded in fully coordinating the stances on the proposals for developing solutions in the SFRY Constitution which relate to the constitutional positions of the SR of Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces, which were initiated by a proposal from the SFRY Presidency so as to prevent the provinces becoming the equal of the republics, which express in a more adequate way the position of the SR of Serbia, and which avoid prejudicing some solutions that should be subject to the regulation of the Serbian SR Constitution.

Referring to the fact that consultations are taking place on proposals to abolish the Council of the Federation and to change the name of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, and on the Constitution establishing the anthem "Hey Slavs" ["Hej Sloveni"] as the SFRY national anthem. [sentence as received]

The most vital and most politically significant of these questions is contained in the amendment on the financing of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army], which representatives of the Slovenian SR Assembly, in their discussions up to now, have not accepted.

I wish to say that this is a matter of a very important political question about which it is vital to achieve agreement in line with the solutions contained in the text of draft amendments 34 and 36, in which, to a large extent, a number of objections made by the Slovenian SR Assembly have been respected. If this does not happen, things could become complicated on this issue and our overall political and economic situation could deteriorate.

It is vital to accept these solutions because without them there is no possibility for the stable financing of the YPA. The present method of financing the YPA has, in factual terms, brought into question some of its elementary functions. The LCY Central Committee should understand and take up a position on this.

The proposed changes to the amendments affecting relations in the federation, as well as those in the economic sphere in the political system will doubtless contribute to the more successful realization of the constitutional concept of the federation and the strengthening of the community of the Yugoslav market. They will also strengthen the role of worker in associated labor in their decision-making in the federation, although in this field some of the very widely-requested radical changes have not been carried out. These have been left for further study and debate in the following stage of the work on a new constitution.

The most important of them is certainly the structure and terms of reference of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly, including the proposal to introduce a chamber of associated labor in the structure of the SFRY Assembly. Stands were polarized on this question in the Commission for Constitutional Questions, as were the stands of the republican assemblies and socialist autonomous provinces as well as the stands in the public debate. The coordinating group and the Constitutional Commission have made great efforts to overcome these differences but they have not succeeded. Starting from this fact, as well as the complexity of this question, the realization of which would require some more profound changes and not only in the structure of the SFRY Assembly, the Constitutional Commission has concluded that it is not possible to resolve this question now but it must be left for the next phase of the constitutional changes.

I believe that postponing the solutions to this question because of failure to reach agreement is one of the biggest weaknesses of the present constitutional changes. I am convinced that a Chamber of Associated Labor would strengthen the power and influence of self-management workers on developments in production, would curb statist bureaucratism at all levels, and speed up the processes of integration along the lines of working class interests. I believe that the LCY Central Committee has not involved itself to the necessary extent in coordinating stands on this important question.

The second important question to which great attention was devoted in the public debate, and on which agreement was not reached, is the method of electing members of the SFRY Presidency. There were demands that in the future, members of the Presidium should be elected by the SFRY Assembly on the proposal of the assemblies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces. There were also many calls for the present solution to be retained, in other words, for them to be elected by the assemblies of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces on the basis of

the general Yugoslav procedure for selecting candidates. The Commission for Constitutional Questions made great efforts to overcome these differences. There was also a proposal which would reconcile both of these demands: that the assemblies of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces should elect members of the Presidency and that their election should be verified by the SFRY Assembly in a secret ballot. Unfortunately, however, agreement was not reached on this proposal either.

The most profound and, in terms of their significance, the most far-reaching are the changes being proposed in the socioeconomic system, Zarkovic stressed. It can justifiably be said that some of them represent a break with conservatism and dogmatism in their views on some important questions of the construction of socialism in our country. They would create the conditions for economic reform and the removal of statist-bureaucratic deformation in the management of developments in social reproduction.

Although the changes being proposed in the political system and in relations in the federation are not profound or radical like the changes in the socioeconomic system, the importance of some of these solutions should not be underestimated. On the other hand, the changes in the socioeconomic system, if they are implemented consistently, will themselves also influence the functioning of the political system and the more effective functioning of the federation. They will contribute to the more rapid maturing of consciousness about the necessity in these fields for yet more profound changes in line with the reduction of state authority at all levels, accompanied by the creation of the fullest possible conditions for the successful implementation of their functions, the further spreading of socialist democracy, and the strengthening of the democratic unity of the Yugoslav community, the strengthening of constitutionality and legality, and so on.

During the work on the preparation of the draft constitutional amendments differences were overcome on numerous questions in the further construction and development of the political system and the system of relations in the federation. But differences on several key questions continued to remain unsurmounted.

There are too many simplification and incorrect assertions that it is a matter merely of differences between bureaucratic structures. The discussion on the draft amendments showed that it is also a matter of differences in the views of LC members and working people on these questions. The depth and nature of these differences are most fully evident when the stances of the assemblies of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces on the draft constitutional amendments are analysed. The public discussion of these questions has shown that there are, in the LC and society, differing viewpoints on some major issues—the essence of self-managing, socioeconomic relations, the essence of the federation and living together, the essence of socialist self-managing democracy, and in this connection the role of the LCY and suchlike.

The search for common solutions was also hampered by the fact that in the public debate demands were expressed for changes in the basic priniciples of the constitution and in the constitutional concept of the Federation, from positions differing from those advocated by the LCY. These demands had a negative impact on overall relations and weakened the atmosphere necessary for creative work.

There is no doubt, Zarkovic stressed, that the present constitutional reforms would have been more complete and more in keeping with the needs of our situation if the differences on these questions had been overcome and if more solutions had been included in the draft constitutional amendments which, not jeopardizing in any way the essence of relations in our multinational federative community, would ensure its yet more efficient functioning, would further increase the influence of workers in the making of all decisions, would to a greater extent harmonize the political system with the profound changes in the sphere of the socioeconomic system and would further reduce the scope for an autarchic economy and for the influence of polycentric statisms in the establishment of the conditions for doing business.

Dissatisfaction over the fact that agreement was not achieved on these solutions, however, does not justify the minimizing of the importance, volume, and depth of the changes being proposed and especially not the negative attitude toward this great effort and great result of our society. After all, when it is a matter of the preparation of changes to the Constitution, we must always bear in mind that the agreement of the assemblies of all the republics and provinces is needed for each change. But they can be ensured only by taking account of all the views and by patient and creative work to coordinate them in a democratic atmosphere—and in no other way.

It is particularly important, Zarkovic stressed, to invest maximum efforts and readiness to ensure in the democratic debate in which the power of argument will dominate, full unity on the proposed constitutional and legal solution on the method of financing the Yugoslav People's Army.

We must examine in a completely open way and point out to working people that the reforms will inevitably intensify the problems of work collectives which achieve poor economic results and open up even more the prospects for economically healthy collectives which conduct business in a well-orientated way. It will increase the need for the more rapid elimination of manufacturing which does not have an economic prospect and which accumulates losses in the search for a

reorientation in the business operations of these collectives. We must prepare for all this because, unless we do, resistance toward the reforms could grow to a proportion which would prevent them, Zarkovic stressed.

On no account should we lose sight of the fact that our present economic, political and social situation is unfavorable for the implementation of such changes, and the mood among a large section of the working class does not contribute toward this either. After all, the standard of a large number of workers has fallen to the limit of the existential minimum. In this situation they turn to the state and political forums for them to find solutions to personal incomes and suchlike. Despite this, we must advocate the domination of the consciousness and understanding that the solutions to these and similar questions cannot be sought through the strengthening of bureaucratism but on the contrary, through the reduction of statist-bureaucratic interference in the economy with workers taking into their own hands all responsibility for the developments in social reproduction.

In all this we should not ignore the danger of some ideological misconceptions and erroneous paths either.

Although the innovations being proposed in the socioeconomic system do not mean abandoning the course of the socialist development of our society, there will be many assertions and fears about this, Zarkovic warned. They will stem from the ingrained nature of some dogmatic and conservative notions of socialism, as well as from our difficult economic and social situation and the fairly large stratification of society without regard to the criteria of work and distribution according to the results of work.

We must also oppose, he stressed, the dangers of the fetishization of the market and the understanding that merely by verbally advocating the market and its unity we will arrive at some new and better society. The force of the inertia of statist relations is very great. Nor can the market bring us into this situation by some magic wand. For real changes, it is necessary that the working class (?comprehensively) accept the amendments, as an opportunity which must be used in order to find a way out of crisis and not that it, itself, by its inconsistent demands, strengthen the positions of the bureaucratic-statist and alienated centers of power.

After mentioning that the intention of the new constitutional solutions is not the abolition of the basic associated labor organizations as a form of the direct worker participation in the implementation of self-management and in managing the income which they create, but the harmonization of self-management organization with the needs of the most efficient possible market method of business operations, Zarkovic said that it is undisputed that in the conditions of the new solutions which are being offered with the amendments in the field of socioeconomic relations, there is a danger of the growth of technocratism. However, this danger cannot be combatted from outside, by strengthening the role of the political bureaucracy, but only by strengthening the role and position of the workers in each associated labor organization. This presupposes, inter alia, a new role for the trade unions in the associated labor organizations. To this end a reaffirmed, powerful, independent, working-class, organization of trade unions, which will be completely free of the transmission role of the LCY and its subordinate position in relation to the managerial organs, is essential.

Zarkovic then stressed that the LCY Central Committee is obliged to elaborate and express in concrete terms the initiative of the LCY Conference on setting about the preparation of a new, more modern, more consistent and more concise SFRY Constitution which, among other things, will also provide answers to the questions which in this phase of the work on the constitutional changes have remained open. In this process the LCY does not appear as an arbiter nor in the role of a factor prejudicing constitutional solutions. In this way the LCY is carrying out its historic role because it appears as an integrating, guiding and cohesive force which opens up visions of the further development of society and which defends the historical interests of the working class and the achievements of the socialist revolution. On these bases it opens up space for seeking the best possible concrete solutions which will contribute to the realization of the essence of our strategic orientations concerning socialist self-management, the federative structure on the bases of full national equality, the delegate system, nonaligned foreign policy and the conceptions of all-people's defense and social self-protection.

A vital element in this platform is certainly that the present course of changes in the socioeconomic system is not abandoned but that it is carried out and elaborated in the most consistent possible way and that all other parts of the system are harmonized with it in the most consistent way, Zarkovic concluded.

Changes in Army Financing Debated

LD2010042488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0344 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 19 [date as received] (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) tonight urged the Communists to exert vigorous efforts for surmounting the differences on a proposed constitutional amendment on ways of financing the Yugoslav People's Army, stressing this as the most essential political issue whose settlement bears no further delay. Such efforts were also required of the delegates to the Federal Assembly and the republican and provincial assemblies which are to enact the proposed amendments.

The Central Committee insists on that the amendments to the Assembly of Yugoslavia and the constitutions of the republics and autonomous provinces be enacted by the time limit set for November 29 this year.

So far, stands have been adjusted on the draft amendments to the Federal Constitution relating to economic matters, wheras those on relations in the Federation, which includes ways of financing the Army, have remained outstanding. Most reserves to the proposed solutions were placed by the Republic of Slovenia.

Under the existing procedure, constitutional amendments are first considered by the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, and then by the assemblies of the six constituent republics and two autonomous provinces. If they are not carried by even one of the republican or provincial assemblies, the whole procedure would be postponed for one year, thus practically opening a constitutional crisis.

In tonight's meeting of the Central Committee, Admiral Stane Brovet warned that the worst threat to the Yugoslav People's Army and the defence of the country would be destablization through an inadequate provision of financial resources. He pointed out that disputing the proposed constitutional amendment on ways of financing the Army essentially threatened with "disintegration of the Army itself" and asked - who could assume responsibility before the nations of Yugoslavia for its possible consequences.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic said that the proposed amendment, aimed at securing steadier and safer sources of finance for the Yugoslav People's Army, did not mean that the issue was being taken out of the budget and assembly procedure but that it was still under control of the republics and autonomous provinces. He warned against saving where it was most risky - in financing the Yugoslav People's Army.

Slovene party leader Milan Kucan said his republic did not deny the need to settle the question of financing the Army but considered the proposed solution inappropriate. His comment on the insistence on an early adjustment of the controversial stands on the issue was that constitution can only be adopted by agreement of each nation and nationality, and that consequently it can also be changed in that way only. Consensus in the Federation is a factor of its stability and above all other considerations, pointed out Kucan.

Press Examines Ckrebic Confidence Vote

LD2110145388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 21 (TANJUG)—The vote of no confidence in the Republic of Serbia's Member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency Dusan Ckrebic passed at the 17th LCY Plenum was intended to inform the Serbian people and the Serbian leadership that they were in a "total coalition encirclement," the Yugoslav weekly NIN writes today.

Dusan Ckrebic, a Serbian official of long standing and one of Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic's closest associates, is the sole member of the party Presidency to fail to win the confidence of the LCY Central Committee at the plenum which closed last Wednesday.

Ckrebic immediately submitted his resignation to the post, although he was not bound to do so by the statute.

NIN views Ckrebic's departure from Yugoslavia's top party leadership as a Pyrrhic victory for the LCY Central Committee. Ckrebic was made the scapegoat quite without justification, only because the jurisdiction of the LCY Central Committee does not extend to other exponents of the new Serbian policy, NIN writes, concluding that the personality and work of this politician have not given cause for such an attitude towards him.

The Slovenian daily DELO, without specifically criticising Ckrebic, denied allegations that was defeated. [sentence as received] According to DELO, the no-confidence vote in Ckrebic reflects disagreement with the Serbian leadership's moves, also supported by Ckrebic.

Denying Macedonian Presidency member Dr Vasil Tupurkovski's statement that "at the plenum one republic lost, and an unprincipled coalition won," DELO says that this supports fabrications that former parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Slovenia, Vojvodina, Croatia) have formed a secret alliance against Serbia. The "coalition" is still associated by some individuals with the supporters of "greater Albania."

The Serbian leadership should view the results of the vote as a repeated call to reason and for soothing the political situation in the country, DELO said adding that the Yugoslav orientation and activities of Serbia's other representative in the Yugoslav party leadership, Radisa Gacic, had received full support at the LCY CC Plenum.

The Serbian party's edition of the weekly KOMUNIST assesses that the result of the vote would not have been unusual if it did not involve a communist enjoying a high reputation and the full support of the party membership and the people of the republic.

KOMUNIST therefore considers that the vote of no confidence in Ckrebic cannot be interpreted in any other way but as an "inadmissible sanction against a positive policy and a lesson to a leadership (Serbia's), coupled with an uncritical acceptance of another policy and a benevolent attitude towards another leadership (Kosovo's untouchable leadership)."

The League of Communists of Serbia has insisted for some time now on the responsibility of the Kosovo organs and officials for the long years of terror by Albanian separatists and chauvinists against the Serbs and Montenegrins in the province, which is within the Republic of Serbia.

KOMUNIST agrees with Tupurkovski's assessment that the "unprincipled coalition" has won, but adds that the coalition is an anti-Serbian one because of which not only one republic loses, but the LCY does too.

Maintaining that with this move, a part of the LCY Central Committee membership has at the last minute undermined the unity painstakingly achieved at the 17th plenum, KOMUNIST concludes that an extraordinary LCY Congress is essential for the Yugoslav party.

The Slovenian daily DNEVNIK openly criticizes the LCY Central Committee for "singling out" only the Serbian representative in the federal party leadership when responsibility was being weighed, and holds that this will only further complicate the political situation in the country.

The daily welcomes the LCY's decision to renew social processes in the country through a new cadre structure, but warns that Yugoslavia cannot surmount the crisis with the program of one republic or of the federation alone.

DNEVNIK therefore agrees with Serbian party leader Milosevic's intervention at the party plenum, when he asked that the vote of confidence be reviewed by the party rank and file—the party organization of Serbia.

Milosevic Visits Rakovica Workers 20 Oct

Discusses Ckrebic Decision

AU2010160388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] This morning, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, visited the Rakovica factories of IMR, Rekord, and 21 May and in this way fulfilled the promise he gave to the workers gathered in front of the SFRY Assembly on 4 October that he would visit them immediately after the 17th LCY Central Committee session.

During the visit Milosevic held a brief conversation with the workers expressing interest in the production and results.

Having visited the plants of these three factories, Milosevic held talks with the representatives of the work organizations and sociopolitical organizations of this commune in the offices of the Rakovica Communal LC.

Milosevic said that the recent increase in the production in these organizations is a result of the first measures introduced to relieve the economy. We cannot ask the federation alone to relieve the economy, Milosevic said among other things, because this would seriously affect the vital functions of our country. This is why we must spread these demands in the direction of the action equally to other levels, ranging from the local to republican levels.

Speaking about the 17th LCY Central Committee session which ended yesterday, Milosevic said that it represents a solid basis for the cadre renewal in the forthcoming months. The conclusion on the renewal of up to one third of the republican central committees and the LCY Central Committee will enable us to promote young, educated, and energetic men to the LC leadership. Such men exist and they will become the exponents of the socioeconomic reform.

Until all those who caused quarrels among Yugoslav peoples and nationalities leave the leading posts, we will not be able to overcome the crisis, Slobodan Milosevic said. In this sense, the resignations of the four members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium must be considered a positive contribution.

The unanimous adoption of the 17th session's conclusions is the most important thing. These conclusions will facilitate changes in the political system, above all in the Constitution, and thus a faster solution to the Kosovo problem. The openness of this session, Milosevic continued, is a contribution to the democratic spirit which is slowly but surely winning over the LC and society as a whole.

This session, Milosevic continued, can be a motive for a major mobilization of communists and workers for reforms and Yugoslavia. The obstacles that we all saw in this respect, and that cause dissatisfaction, should not discourage us. On the contrary, those who were justifiably and openly criticized by the LC members cannot applaud this criticism. [sentence as heard]

A great process of democratization has started and will not be stopped. The workers class represents the strongest foundation of this process. The battle against conservative and bureaucratic forces will be won by the workers class. This will be the beginning of the way out of the crisis, and not only that, but also of a truly successful development.

Milosevic stressed the need for building unity because we are united Yugoslav peoples and nationalities. It is above all the Yugoslav communists who can carry out reforms and solve the Kosovo situation and the crisis in which our society finds itself.

As far as the vote of confidence on Dusan Ckrebic is concerned, Milosevic said that a decision on this can only be made on the basis of consultations that should be held in the Serbian LC, because in our society, it is only the grassroots that can give or withdraw confidence.

On his visit to Rakovica, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, was accompanied by Rados Smiljkovic and Dragan Tomic.

Further Comments
LD2010174988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1632 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 20 (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Party Central Committee Presidency, today assessed that the 17th League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) CC plenum, which ended yesterday, represents a stable basis for the renewal of the party personnel in the following months.

Milosevic visited three factories in the Belgrade suburb of Rakovica, where he talked with workers about the results of the Yugoslav Communists' plenum, in which the country's public vested great hope.

THe LCY CC plenum, held in Belgrade on October 17-19, unanimously adopted the political platform on the economic and political reform and on the democratic renewal of society. It reached the decision on preparing a fundamental platform of the party.

The LCY CC voted on its confidence in each individual member of the Presidency by secret ballot for the first time. It withheld its confidence only to one member, Dusan Ckrebic, Serbia's member in the LCY CC Presidency.

Milosevic told the Rakovica workers that the plenum's decision on changing one third of the members of the LCY CC and the republican and provincial central committees would mean admitting young, energetic and educated people, who should be advocates of the socio-economic reform.

Milosevic considers that the most important result of the plenum are the unanimously adopted conclusions on changes in the political system, particularly constitutional, and, hence, an urgent solution to the problem of Albanian separatists and chauvinists counter-revolution in Kosovo.

As long as all those who are responsible for the quarrel between the Yugoslav nations and nationalities remain on the political scene, we will be unable to overcome the crisis, Milosevic said, adding that he considers the resignations of four members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidency—Milanko Renovica, Bosko Krunic, Kolj Siroka and Franc Setinc—a positive contribution to the renewal of the party cadre.

Commenting on the plenum's not voting confidence in Dusan Ckrebic, Milosevic said that an "assessment about this can be brought only on the basis of consultations within the organization of the League of Communists of Serbia, because, in our society, the base alone can withhold or give confidence to somebody."

The president of the Serbian party stressed that the public work of the LCY CC plenum represents a contribution to the democratic spirit. "The great process of democratization has begun and it will not be stopped," said he and added that "we should not be demobilized" by the reform's obstacles "which all of us have seen and which cause dissatisfaction."

LCY Plenum Proceedings on 18 Oct Described
LD2010201288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0842 GMT 18 Oct 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG)—The 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, devoted to identifying tasks to overcome the unfavorable economic, political, and social situation in the country, resumed in Belgrade this morning. The first session today was chaired by Simeon Buncic. [passage omitted]

Milovan Popovic remarked that the substance of what he said was not disputed, and as for the way he expressed it, he said, he once again accepted the criticism. He asked Central Committee members to accept that.

Miloje Milojevic and Dusan Ckrebic intervened in this short "discussion before the discussion"—the latter observing that the explanation regarding the dissociation from a part of Popovic's statement was somewhat longer than agreed in the Presidium. Subsequently, the Central Committee, with only two votes against, decided to dissociate itself from a portion of Popovic's statment using the formula suggested by the Presidium.

The proposed document for the 17th Central Committee session is supported by Kosovo's communists, said Kacusa Jasari, adding that in that province a climate of great expectations prevails. We have reached a critical point which in many ways demands a critical, self-critical, and above all a responsible attitude by all.

Albanian nationalism and separatism is again manifesting itself aggressively in some environments, warned Jasari, blockades are present, as well as confusion and instances of going astray. For this reason, one of the key issues is how to mobilize the potential of the masses and create a united front for stabilizing the Kosovo situation.

We have taken the statutory measure of a warning to the provincial committee and its Presidium as a demand for the re-examination of our activity up to now, a more resolute cadre renewal, and a break with unsuitable behavior. Such behavior does exist, said Kacusa Jasari, in the provincial committee, its Presidium, but also in the municipal committees, in the economy and outside

the economic sphere. At the last session of the provincial committee, she recalled, some expressed the opinion that the reasons for taking such a measure should be stated.

Responsibility for some elements can certainly not be shared. For example, there is the ideological struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism and the sowing of hatred among nations and nationalities. The struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism is of course our basic task, stressed Kacusa Jasari. Following the ninth LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo the effects of activity have been fewer, intranational relations have been worsening, and it seems that nationalists have never had better ground for their activities.

The struggle against nationalism in one's own nation, in her opinion, is not an obligation, but a patriotic duty. The LC of Kosovo is responsible for the intensity of struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism, for the ensuring of peace and a safe life for the members of all nations and nationalities, above all Serbs and Montegrins. This will be best achieved if the focus of mass political work is brought to the environments where the problems are evident.

However, the climate of intranational trust is increasingly fading; there are divisions and a joint struggle has not been established in many environments. We must answer the question of why this is so, stressed Jasari. [transmission interrupted]

The time has come when, with the inordinately long stories, one can no longer satisfy one's conscience that something is being done, said Miljan Radovic. He supported Suvar's report, stressing that without hesitation all our material and manpower resources should be channelled into more rapidly adopting and carrying the reform and stabilizing the Kosovo situation.

Who still has the courage and the honesty with unsubstantiated slogans to appear before the workers and citizens in a situation when poverty has knocked on the door of many homes in Yugoslavia? asked Radovic. Who dares to defend today what bureaucracy and nationalism can offer and divide the nations and build intra-national mistrust? We must admit that this sort of conduct first started among the leaders. I am not saying this as a kind of justification but as a thought that has been expressed at many meetings in Montenegro and throughout the country, he added. [passage omitted]

It is easy today in a fluid state of dissatisfaction and hopelessness to foment passions and pit the leaderships and peoples against each other, said Radovic, warning that this could only lead us into a crisis which is even more serious than the one today and into even greater antagonism, and this, in the final analysis, can only lead us into total collapse. [passage omitted]

We must overcome political misunderstandings in our reciprocal relations, which existed in the past and which no doubt will continue to exist, through direct cooperation and not by public confrontation, said Radovic. Recently in Montenegro we came up against a fierce revolt by the workers and citizens because of the exceptionally difficult material shortages. These were the situations which we had been fearing for quite some time now, which the opponents of the system are hoping for and which they perceive as being an opportunity to reshape Yugoslavia. In this connection Radovic entered the plea for the agreed tasks regarding the consolidation of the Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Kosovo economy to be given life more quickly.

Nikola Stojanovic, too, supported the idea that sections of direct tasks be amplified with the stands from the introductory report because in the present form they can appear to many people as being somewhat generic and uncoordinated with the degree of our social crisis. In doing that, he said, we will come closer to Tito's synthesis for drafting the platform for the way out of the crisis. [passage omitted]

The situation in the country is such that we have now switched over to a new "quality" which can no longer be assessed as being the weakening of the cohesion or as the disintegration of the country. Some new phenomena are being encountered which suggest that what is happening is that the country is gradually being divided into its eastern and western part, said Nikola Stojanovic.

Speaking of Kosovo Nikola Stojanovic said that the events were not a negation of Tito's policy of brotherhood and unity but the proof that bureaucratic etatism has gained the upper hand in the leaderships to such an extent that it has become the main reason for disunity and nonimplementation of the stands on the three reforms.

On dealing with the work of the LCY leadership Stojanovic said that after Tito's departure the major problems in the various parts of the country were treated in a facile manner. In his view the reason for that is in the fear that the LCY leadership might be put on the agenda. The Central Committee has become a form of a mechanical collection of confrontations between republican and provincial leaderships. The conclusions adopted in this way are generic and everyone is implementing them in the way and with the force which one had when the conclusions were formulated. The question of responsibility cannot be posed on the relations set up in this way. [passage omitted]

I agree with those who endorse Suvar's report which, I think, is much clearer and more specific than the document proposed for adoption, Josip Vrhovec said. This session of the LCY Central Committee has aroused great interest in Yugoslavia and has been followed by a large amount of apprehension and the question: Will we succeed in turning around negative trends and assert

ourselves in people's eyes as a serious political movement? If this is not done, he warned, the consequences will be serious. I do not see this plenum as a historic event but it is, nevertheless, a significant point in our present situation. Much more important than achieving agreement on the text of the proposed document is the opportunity provided by the session to face each other and examine all that has caused discord among us. If this is not done, the clouds looming over Yugoslavia will become even darker.

Only support by Yugoslavia's working class will help us to pull out of the crisis. Not a single nation or nationality must be left on the sidelines. The interests of any nation or nationality in Yugoslavia must not be disregarded. The LC has a historic responsibility to ensure this.

Vrhovec stressed that the way out of the crisis lies in the three reforms which have to be interconnected and must not jeopardize one another. He added that he supports the view to the effect that the crisis stems from the economic sphere, and that there will be no consolidation of the general situation in the country unless this crisis is overcome.

The political crisis is however dreadful, Vrhovec warned. He said that concerted action in overcoming both crises is our main task. Particular attention should be focused on further democratization in the party ranks since only on the basis of genuine democratic relations can we expect to build democratic centralism. Otherwise, we will be pulled back to the old type of monolithism, he stressed.

The vanguard, that is ourselves, is to blame for the crisis, Vrhovec said, adding instead of discussing how to overcome it today, the question should be: What will happen to us?

In the light of the situation in the country, will we be able to organize the nonaligned summit next year, Vrhovec asked. Friends from some nonaligned countries, he said, have expressed concern over the events in Yugoslavia. No one is blaming us for the economic crisis but for the political one. Yes, Vrhovec warned, adding that "we cannot allow ourselves to sit at the movement's presiding table as a completely divided country which has lost its international reputation, which is disintergrating, and which is incapable of doing anything to stop it."

Having noted that at the 16th LCY Central Committee session he spoke about the need to counter nationalist manipulations of the people, Vrhovec said that soon afterward a senseless campaign of slander began against him. "I was accused of siding with the 1941 occupiers, that I am protecting terrorists, and that even "my role in the murder of Ambassador Rolovic has not yet been explained."

Vrhovec read what he said in the "notorious and controversial" 1983 meeting of brotherhood and unity in Benkovac. [passage omitted] [passage omitted][transmission interrupted] [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted]

The work of this Central Committee session to date has disappointed the great expectations I had at the time of my election to its membership. I am disappointed because of the situation in which our country finds itself and because of the betrayal of Tito's achievement precisely because of the personal interests of his comrades-in-arms, said Dusica Danilovic, the first participant in the afternoon discussion.

Having said that the top party and state leaderships are to be blamed for our difficult social crisis, especially for the situation in Kosovo, she stressed that it is inadmissible for people from rich hunting grounds and shiny offices to term as a street mob those who are raising their voices in desparation. The only thing that can be seen in darkness and hopelessness is the reflection of hunting trophies, empty sessions, and new reports, the reflections of various Olympic and university games. Maybe Comrades Mikulic and Vrhovec could tell us a little more about that, Dusica Danilovic said.

How is one to interpret the proposal by the LCY Central Committee Presidium that Petar Matic become involved in overseeing political work in the Kraljevo region when thousands of participants in the protest meeting in that area sent Matic a clear message: You are not our friend. I am speaking, she recalled, on behalf of the working people of the Kraljevo region. They, as indeed millions of particpants in other meetings, are not nationalists. If anyone had any arguments against the people maybe he ought to have come out to tell them so.

The Pristina joint session of the Presidiums of the LCY Central Committee and of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee presented a sorry sight. The president constantly cut short the discussions as if he was in a hurry to go somewhere. One gained the impression that no one knew what in fact was to be achieved with that session. Kacusa Jasari believes that responsibilities have to be discussed after the 17th LCY Central Committee session but she says nothing about the conclusions of the 9th session and on whom they are binding.

Azem Vlasi stressed that he was not reprimanded for anything during the 2-year period when he was an ex-officio member of the Serbia LC Central Committee Presidium and of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. If he wasn't, then that was a mistake, Dusica Daniloc said. The membership recalls his "good knowledge" of the English language when he claimed that the shouts "Eho, Eho" at Pristina Stadium were mimicking English supporters. The people do find fault with his ambiguous statements and constant interpretations of what he wanted to say. The people find fault with his smile in Kosovo Polje at a time when nothing there is

funny. They are bothered by the fact that a loan was taken from Ljubljana Bank in Pristina, which was never denied and must be accepted as being a fact. Some of Azem Vlasi's moves would appear to have encouraged the counterrevolution, Dusica Danilovic said.

She supported the idea that everyone who does not enjoy the people's confidence should be replaced and that in this respect the Central Committee should not restrict the statutory possibility of renewing one third of its membership. She also supported the proposal that Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi, and Svetislav Dolasevic be expelled from the LCY Central Committee, and also all those who have become tired, or who have done nothing. We must do this even if we have a new Central Commitee, she stressed. [passage omitted]

Branko Greganovic said in conclusion that we must resist with greater resolve the creation of the conviction that the sessions, including the one today, can resolve anything; sessions are parade sessions, they are not working sessions. During these sessions policy is not shaped, it is advertised. If we have nothing to advertise we should not be sitting here, Greganovic stressed.

Blagoja Mitanovski endorsed the proposal to reduce the age of the leaderships at all levels. With the present method of work and with the present cadres, the obsolete practice of governing our society cannot be overcome, Mitanovski stressed and asked for the responsibility to be carried out specifically and not only declaratively. [passage omitted]

Milojevic said that it is a good thing that after making a mistake in his speech, Milovan Popovic had the strength of character to admit that he had made a mistake. However, at the same time he expressed his regret over the fact that the Presidium reacted so fiercely to the mistake made by this worker, he said, who took part in the construction of the building in which the session of the LCY Central Committee is taking place.

Of course, I respect the decisions which we adopt, but I would very much like to see us all and our Presidium react so fast and so robustly to some serious problems, the Kosovo problems, the issues concerning the constitution and the issues concerning the three reforms because these are the things which are shaking our society, Milojevic said in conclusion.

Boris Suklje said there is no dispute in the diagnosis of the situation in our society and that differences emerge only when one begins to look for solutions. Two development philosophies are on the scene. According to one economic problems should be resolved through various administrative measures, and unitarism is offered to replace the integral Yugoslav federalism. [passage omitted on need for a free flow of ideas between federal units]

In conclusion, and proceeding from Slobodan Milosevic's discussion statement yesterday, one part of which he understood as being special readiness to provide the friends outside Serbia with additional information about the processes of that republic, Suklje expressed the hope that the news he read yesterday, that a special committee of the Slovenes living in the capital city was being formed in Belgrade to bring the truth about Serbia closer to all slovenes, was not part of that intention. In this connection Suklje said that he has nothing against the formation of such a committee, but he expressed his doubt in the rationale of such an action in view of the fact that in Slovenia the magazines in Serbo-croatian have a massive distribution.

To begin with, Andjelko Kovacevic believes we have to return to work and to creative effort. This must be a specific program because for decades a system has been built which has sanctioned many old and has spawned many new forms of injustice. Parallel with that, a practice of pronounced shortcomings in the distribution system has been generated whose essence was exploitation, primarily exploitation of work by idleness. [passage omitted]

The Serbia LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee, according to Kovacevic, must translate their criticism of the situation in Kosovo more quickly into specific action to integrate Kosovo into Serbia and into Yugoslavia.

Having said that this is not the time for illusions or for going back, he stressed, in conclusion, that "socialism is not a path constantly strewn with flowers" but a constant struggle against its contradictions. That is why one has to be on one's guard against the unrealistic visions of false prophets of freedom. No one can be excluded from being held responsible. What is required is responsibility as a continuous process, as a process which will not render the bourgeois radicals happy but will strengthen Tito's concept of the party.

Yugoslavia has been engulfed by a wave of counterrevolution, Dr Dusan Dragosavac said at the beginning of his statement. A great deal of intranational mistrust has been generated and national hatred is waxing strong. Not only is there an anti-Serb and anti-Yugoslav mood among a great portion of the Albanians, which in my view is constantly expanding, but among the Serbs not only the anti-Albanian but the anti-Slovene and anti-Croat mood is gaining pace, and an anti-Serb feeling among the Croats and the Slovenes, and so forth. The question is what is behind it. Our working people are wondering whether we are not on the eve of a clerical-chauvinist war. Members of our two Presidiums, Dr Dragosavac said, of the party presidium and of the state Presidency, or at least a great number of them, have been given Ustasha, Chetnik, separatist, unitarist, and other labels. We should relieve them of that so that they can continue discharging their tasks, which are very great indeed.

For the LC and for the SFRY, Dr Dragosavac stressed, the difficulty is in the fact that there are many "truths" in them. In his view there are as many of these truths as there are socialist republics and provinces, and nations and nationalities, and even more. Various excesses, scandals, accidental or deliberate, are used to wage war between the leaderships of our republics and provinces and between the leaderships in the federation. There is such an internal national nightmare and confusion in Yugoslavia that this fact has created deep-seated internal worries among our working people. For us this is far more serious than being surrounded by external worries which are reduced depending on our internal situation.

To overcome the situation in our country, in Dr Dragosavac's view, the practice of making assorted unrealistic promises must be ceased, especially those given to one's own nation but whose implementation is "hampered by others and the federation." Instead he suggested more work and sweat and reciprocal trust especially between the leaderships.

In order to achieve this, wisdom, statesmanlike responsibility, and especially character are required. What is required now is not heroics vis-a-vis one's comrades and pounding the table but a struggle against one's own shortcomings, and defending others against ourselves because this is more moral, it is more human, and from the political view point more indispensable at this point than to indulge in trials of strength and in digging oneself into one's own bunkers.

Sergej Kraigher said that Suvar's report contains the comprehensive assessment of the country's situation and represents the well-considered stances of the First LCY Conference, and he proposed that it, together with the proposed platform of the 17th session, serve as the basis for LC activity.

Kraigher especially stressed that Suvar's report not only summarizes ideas about the situation but also points to perspectives in the struggle for overcoming the crisis.

Thus, Kraigher stated, it is not the case that our political system is disintegrating, nor that ideological bases of our intranational relations are collapsing, rather on the contrary, the LCY is equipping itself to perform its function and solve problems, that is, our multinational community is preparing itself for inclusion in all the processes characteristic of the end of the 20th century.

Kraigher recalled that in the sixties we did not succeed in changing production relations and securing the real self-managing status of workers, which is one of the causes of the instability and the crisis. In the operation of the political self-management system the municipality as the basic sociopolitical community has been neglected, which is also one of the causes of the present difficulties. Consequently, in the current reform activity special attention should be paid to these two things.

All our weaknesses are common, and Kosovo is only the most serious and the most painful expression of these weaknesses, and that fact, Kraigher believes, is not developed sufficiently in the activities of our forums, in Serbia, or in Kosovo.

Kraigher said that doubt is raised by the fact that "nowhere is it seen that the Serbian Central Committee is equally interested and concerned about the specific state of the life, work, and development of the Albanian population in Kosovo, compared with the entirely justified concern and worry for the protection of the basic human rights and equality of non-albanian population, especially Serbs and Montenegrins.

In this very hall at the LCY Conference and at the 16th session we pledged that we would radically change the situation in the country by implementing the Conference stances, Ivo Karamarko said. On that occasion we stressed that historical responsibility for this rests with the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, the Central Committees of the Republics, the Provincial Committees and the Yugoslav People's Army LC Central Committee. However, today we can only state that the economic situation in the country is more difficult, the political situation more complex, and the social situation more tense than in the last 40 years. [Passage omitted]

Ilija Cosic, the next speaker, supported Karamarko's proposals. He limited his speech to the situation in the Vojvodina LC following the resignations of the Vojvodina Provincial Committee Presidium and several leading provincial leaders. To date assessments of the events in Vojvodina have been given by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Serbian LC Central Committee, Cosic noted, and an analysis of what really happened will be carried out by the provincial committee at its next session and by the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC.

The characteristic of the present situation is that changes have occurred in many Vojvodina environments. Resignations have been tendered by presidiums of 14 municipal comittees and the Novi Sad LC City Committee, in some municipalities all leaderships have gone, but in many environments class-social discontent is still being expressed. Nevertheless, Cosic said, haphazardness and chaos are being slowly overcome by organized work.

Cadre renewal is being approached more calmly, he said, adding that the action of cadre renewal of one third of the provincial committee and its presidium is under way, and a large number of candidates have been registered for this.

It is important to consolidate the situation as soon as possible and to form a new leadership. Here we expect help from the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, Cosic said, adding that certain measures also have been undertaken by the Serbian LC. In that context he

proposed a special conclusion of the 17th session whereby the Presidium will assume the obligation to form a working group whose task would be to help to consolidate the situation in the Vojvodina LC. [Passage omitted]

The time of unmerciful warnings over our past mistakes has come, remarked Dragan Tomic, director of the well-known Simpo factory from Vranje, adding: "Have we woken up to this fact? As far as this session is concerned hardly anyone might say so."

Tomic considers that the LC and its leaderships as well as the leading institutions of the system have demonstrated in recent years a high degree of impotence to resolve the country's two key problems—the phenomenon of the Kosovo drama and a 20-year-long attempts to embark on an economic reform and its implementation. [passage omitted: Tomic says Kosovo is no longer an exclusively Serbian problem]

The existing system, Tomic said, is geared toward braking and not stimulating the country's economic development.

Tomic considers that the competent organs must introduce measures to relieve the Yugoslav economy. He stressed the need for starting, as soon as possible, working more and living more rationally.

Tomo Cerjan began his speech by saying that the Yugoslav workers still believe that this country is capable of pulling out of the long-term crisis and that there is a way out of it.

"But does this mean," he asked, "that this Central Committee has the strength and determination to make such a turnabout; can it really do it?" [passage omitted]

Cerjan devoted some of his speech to the counterrevolution in Kosovo. "Can we at last halt this 'dark evil' called counterrevolution in Kosovo," he asked, adding that Kosovo is Yugoslavia's number one problem and as such has to be given priority.

Appealing for a more determined and unified approach by the LC, Cerjan also asked: What is happening with the LC, who is blocking its actions, who has placed obstructions in its way? Are there maybe obstructionists among its own own ranks?

As so many other speakers had, Cerjan appealed for work to start imediately on the three reforms, on introducing a market economy, and on completely changing behavior. [passage omitted]

Pointing out that the public has constantly criticized some people who nevertheless continue to remain in office, Radoje Konstadinovic said that people are gathering to save Yugoslavia because the leaderships are not doing enough about it. The leaderships, in his opinion, are becoming isolated and have shown intensitivity to criticism. To stay in office, their members defend themselves from the working class and people by calling them "mob" and "street mob," as though they are beyond democracy and the system.

Referring to the recent joint session of the LCY Central Committee and the Kosovo LCY Provincial Committee, Kostadinovic said that people were amazed at how such a serious issue as the situation in Kosovo was treated so lightly. He rejected views that the people's gatherings are nationalist, but he dissociated himself from certain nationalist outbursts. In conclusion Kostadinovic expressed support for the cadre changes in LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. [passage omitted] In Dragica Zgrebec's opinion the increasing tendency to seek solutions only for one's own nation on the basis of national programs raises the question of where the class aspect of our communist movement has gone. I belong to the generation that believed it would never have to struggle for coexistence, mutual understanding, and tolerance. Thus we should direct our energies, which we waste in endless meetings and other gatherings, to the realization of our tasks, she stressed. [passage omitted]

Tapi Taipi spoke about the dramatic social situation and the inappropriate action by the LC. His categorical assessment is that unless with this very session a change begins in the method of work of the party leadership and efficient action is initiated the LC will be threatend by such a massvie loss of its membership that not even the greatest pesimists could imagine.

People have become far more sensitive and angry, Naranza Jovanovic noted, adding that the mood of the working class and the public as a whole is not being sufficiently assessed. Workers are prepared to bear the burden of the crisis, but they have to have guarantees about a deadline for stabilization of the social situation. It is also necessary that they have confidence in the leaderships. [Passage omitted]

At the 13th congress communists advocated a united Yugoslav concept for finding a way out of the crisis and opposed economic and political isolation, confederalization of relations in Yugoslavia and the LCY, for breaking the counterrevolution and solving the Kosovo drama, Tomislav Radovic recalled. This was done in the preparations and at the LCY Conference and is being unambiguously expressed at big popular rallies.

In that context he asked who is afraid of demands for a united Yugoslavia, the legal security of all citizens of our country, in the name of what democracy are honest workers, farmers, and students forbidden to think and say publicly what they think. Through which institutions of the system are they to act, when we Communists in these organs, entrenched behind one-sided, narrow national interests and with bureaucratic attitudes, have blocked them?

Radovic also asked what else must occur in this country, in addition to Kosovo, strikes, impoverishment of the widest strata of the population, and social stratification, for us in this Central Comittee and in our Presidium to pull ourselves together, or at least to retire if we do not know how to behave or what to do—not only in the Central Comittee but in other organs as well. The time for persuasion and negotiation and for interrepublican agreements has run out, Radovic believes. [passage omitted]

The present unfavorable situation in the country is the consequence of the failure to implement our numerous conclusions, Mihailo Pesic said. Its cause is the numerous confrontations in the LC leadership and not only in it. Advocating united action by the LCY, Pesic stressed that it must be based on the implementation of specific tasks at this time, economic and political, the LC's reform, and the liquidation of the counterrevolution in Kosovo. In this context he appealed that the 17th session end with the united adoption of the conclusions and also that thereafter they be implemented on a united basis.

Speaking about the position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, Pesic drew attention to the fact that the provincial leadership are behaving as if their patience is inexhaustible. In his assessment, particular responsibility for the situation in the province is borne by individuals in the provincial committee and in the Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee. The people and the LC membership have already singled out these individuals for criticism by name, and this was also done by the Serbian LC Central Committee at its last session.

Regarding the protest meetings, he advocated that there be precise stances on their causes. The basic messages from these meetings, apart from solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, are expressly Yugoslav, against all nationalisms, against attacks on Tito, the Yugoslav People's Army, and all the achievements of the revoluton.

The last participant in the 2-day debate was Josif Eterovic, who devoted his speech mainly to the ways of resolving the economic crisis. [passage omitted]

Following a detailed debate on the immediate tasks and duties in overcoming the unfavorable economic, political and social situation in the country and the concluding remarks of Stipe Suvar, the Central Committee adopted a decision on the formation of a commission for preparing the bases of the transformation of the LCY. Explaining this decision, Radisa Gacic drew attention to the fact that it is faced with important tasks which, objectively speaking, exceed the possibilities of the individual or some existing body within the LCY. For the performance of this important task it is necessary to rally all forces in the LC that can make a creative contribution, primarily scientific and specialist workers, people of knowledge and experience.

The aim of the reform of the LC and its democratic class renewal and transformation is to give it the capability to realize, in the changed social conditions, its leading role in the society of socialist self-management. Hence, Gacic warned, there must be the expression in the work of the commission of a sharp critical attitude of the LC toward its own mistakes and failures in the implementation of program orientations.

Extending the LC's method of work to date indeed damages both the system and itself. And the weakening of the LC's leading role is primarily the result of the growth of a bureacratic and statist consciousness and practice in the LC, especially the bureacratized and formalistic action of the LC leaderships and their isolation from the membership. Changes in the LC are an obligatory condition for wider social changes.

This commission cannot, of course, by-pass many other important questions of the internal organization and relations in the LC which were highlighted by the LCY Conference, either. These are: questions of the reaffirmation of democratic centralism, a more complete examination of the organizational preconditions and democratic methods which will facilitate the fuller participation of the membership and basic LC organizations in the development and implementation of the LC policy, and also the causes of the federalization of the LC, the mutual relations of LC organs in the building and implementation of a united LCY policy, the method of election and number of members in all the organs of the LCY, and so forth.

We are not starting from the beginning and wish to show that the enormous social energy expended in debates hitherto has not been lost and evaporated in vain. Everything that has been done to date constitutes basically a preparation for such work. The work of this commission, provided that it takes place within the framework of the preparations for the next LCY congress, will constitute one of the most important tasks, if not the most important task in the months ahead, Radisca Gacic said.

Following Gacic's explanation, Darja Colaric took the floor in order to express her dissatisfaction with the proposed composition of the commission. She noted that of the 16 members of this commission proposed from the Central Committee only 3 are under 50, and their average age is 54. She asked the question whether many had not already had their opportunity, if they did have some ideas, to put them forward. This example demonstrates, she says, that it is vital that we have criteria for the cadre renewal so that there is not a constant repetition of us advocating one thing and doing something else.

On the proposal of Stefan Korosec, Colaric's intervention was accepted and it was agreed that the commission be expanded to 37 members, in other words, by the inclusion of 6 new ones including younger people from the ranks of the members of the Central Committee or

outside it. The Presidium has been authorized to propose the additional six members of the commission and the whole list of its members will be approved when the 17th session resumes tomorrow morning.

This concluded the 2d day of the work of this significant political agreement. [sentence as received]

17th LCY Central Committee Session on 19 Oct

Suvar Proposes Cadre Renewal

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[Speech by Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, on proposal for cadre renewal at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 19 October 1988—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: The stances of the LCY Conference, Point 28, states, I quote: "Proceeding from the situation in society and in its own ranks, from the criticism and demands of members, and from its obligations in fulfilling the tasks emanating from these stances, the Central Committee proposes, first of all, to determine its own responsibility and the responsibility of its Presidium and to make the necessary changes in the methods and substance of its work and in the membership of the Presidium and the working bodies in order to ensure that political stances are adopted on a timely basis and that the adopted decisions are consistently implemented."

Preparing this 17th session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium took the necessary steps to carry out this conclusion of the LCY Conference and prepared the criteria and proposals for a renewal of the membership of the LCY Central Committee and for changes in the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Consultations on these questions were carried out in central and provincial committees and the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. As Comrade Korosec reported a little while ago, on 6 October the LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted the criteria and distributed them to Central Committee members together with invitations to this session. These criteria were also discussed at the sessions of central and provincial committees which were held recently to ensure better preparations for the session of this Central Committee.

Allow me, for the benefit of wider public, to concisely present these criteria here. They stipulate:

that, with the aim of getting out of the socioeconomic crisis and of successfully preparing the 14th LCY Congress, the LCY Central Committee should replace up to one-third of its members, which is the number allowed under the LCY Statute to be replaced between two congresses, and that in this respect it should proceed from the need and necessity that the LCY Central Committee acts in the best and most efficient manner under the present conditions as the highest organ and leadership of the LCY in the implementation of the economic reform, the changes in the political system, and the transformation of the LCY itself;

that above all comrades who now hold full-time jobs [profesionalne funkcije] in organs of state authority, administrative executive organs, and executive organs of other sociopolitical organizations in the federation, the republics, and the provinces should be released from their membership in the LCY Central Committee, or rather that they should be replaced with new members;

that it is possible that a number of members of the LCY Central Committee may ask to leave the membership of the LCY Central Committee at their own request because they have been elected to this organ on several occasions, for health or other personal reasons, or on their own decision, considering the demands of a dynamic and increasing intensity of an active involvement in implementing the tasks of the 13th LCY Congress and the stances of the LCY Conference;

that it should be seen in the forthcoming consultations and discussions whether, and which, LCY Central Committee members are to be subjected to the determination of their ideopolitical responsibility according to the criteria incorporated in the LCY Statute;

that the new members to be elected to places thus vacated should be individuals from material production and from the field of science and other fields of creativity who have been confirmed through their work and respect in society, or rather that individuals who now hold full-time jobs in the LCY, other sociopolitical organizations, and organs of authority and administration should not be nominated or elected.

The changes in the LCY Central Committee membership would be carried out in the manner and according to the procedure determined by the LCY Statute and on the basis of the criteria set by the LCY Conference, which means more candidates [than posts to be filled—fbis] and secret elections.

Within a month after the adoption of these criteria by this Central Committee, nominations would be carried out in republican and provincial organizations and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, and in the course of the following 14 days, consultations would be carried out in other republican and provincial committees and the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army, and the LCY Central Committee would meet to elect new members.

I wish to note here that there are only two statutory provisions for terminating membership in the LCY Central Committee—that is, the resignation, which is always voluntary, and the procedure for release from

membership for which a working group is formed to determine the pertinent facts, the necessary report is submitted to the Central Committee, and a secret vote on release is carried out.

At this time when we are trying to significantly renew the Central Committee and its Presidium, it is necessary to know that 41 of 161 incumbent members of the LCY Central Committee served one or several terms as members prior to the 13th LCY Congress. Thus, 120 incumbent members of the Central Committee were elected to the Central Committee for the first time at the 13th LCY Congress, or during the period after the congress in the case of several cooptions. We now propose a renewal of membership of the LCY Central Committee up to one-third of all members—that is to the limit allowed under the LCY Statute. At the same time we propose that the LC Central and Provincial Committees should aim at a similar renewal of their memberships, naturally in conformity with the LCY Statute and the statutes of the republican or provincial organizations concerned.

It is therefore recommended that comrades who hold state positions or hold full-time professional jobs as members of the political-executive organs of other sociopolitical organizations at the federal, republican, or provincial levels should give up membership in the Central Committee. According to our information, this applies to some 30 incumbent Central Committee members. If we carried this out, then this would result in a separation of the state and the party at the personnel level at least in this Central Committee. Both in this respect and in the event of the implementation of other stances which I have listed, the necessary procedures of consultations must be carried out in central and provincial committees to determine which of the incumbent members of the LCY Central Committee will resign. Some members will want and agree to resign as LCY Central Committee members for personal reasons, because of illness, or because of their own understanding and the understanding of the communities that nominated them for membership in the Central Committee in order to cede their places to other and younger people, or resign because they have already served several terms as members of the Central Committee. Among the incumbent members of the Central Committee there are 19 comrades who have served two or more terms as members prior to the 13th LCY Congress. As we noted that 41 of the incumbent members were members prior to the congress, this means that the remaining 22 members have served only one term as Central Committee members prior to the congress. Thus 19 comrades have served two or more terms as Central Committee members prior to the 13th LCY Congress and some of them, only a few of them, have served five or six terms. It is hardly necessary to note that the LCY Statute makes no provisions for limiting the number of terms for LCY Central Committee members.

In connection with this announced renewal of our Central Committee many commentaries and articles have already appeared among the public and especially in some foreign information media implying that people are being forced to leave the Central Committee, that they are being replaced or punished, that all this represents a great purge, and so forth. However, what is in fact involved is that the comrades who leave their positions in the Central Committee within the forthcoming procedure of a renewal of membership of the Central Committee will do so voluntarily by their resignations and by accepting the criteria that we are adopting today. In truth, there are also procedures for release from the Central Committee membership—we also have such procedures on our agenda today—and these procedures always imply a determination of responsibility according to the (?Statute).

We must immediately state before the widest public that this renewal of membership of the Central Committee which we should carry out within 1 and ½ months—at least that much time is needed to draw up lists of new candidates and for our Central Committee to elect its new members and I propose in this connection that the lists from each individual republic or province should include twice as many candidates as should be elected because at our first conference we stipulated that there should be more candidates [than the posts to be filled]—is not a question of any kind of a purge, of any kind of expulsion of sinners, of any kind of replacement of "rulers," or of any expulsion of corrupted or privileged individuals, and so on and so forth. No, it is not a question of anything of that kind. On the contrary, what is involved is an absolutely normal democratic procedure of renewal of a part of the membership of the Central Committee either for the sake of separation of state and party functions or for the sake of renewing the Central Committee in a certain way with new people for the remaining period until the 14th Congress. These new people can can bring greater enthusiasm and incentive to the work of the Central Committee and thereby, from their position in the Central Committee, also to the life of the LCY.

Let me say something especially to veterans of the national liberation struggle—that is, the comrades who have been active in political life ever since the national liberation struggle. At present, among its members our Central Committee has one People's Hero, 18 recepients of the 1941 Partisan Memorial Medal, and a total of 39 veterans of the national liberation struggle. All of us want to have orderly revolutionary continuity and retain the continuity with the older generations of revolutionaries. A certain number of comrades from the ranks of these veterans of the national liberation struggle will also leave their places in the Central Committee within the forthcoming procedure of renewing a part of the membership of the LCY Central Committee. It would be especially intolerable in relation to these comrades if some (?insinuations) were spread among the public that this implies forcing out those partisan ranks that are still here in the Central Committee. We will take care to ensure that a number of individuals from those generations will continue to be in our Central Committee,

precisely in order to maintain in this manner, too, a continuity with the earlier generations of revolutionaries as long as possible. [Words indistinct] of the stated assessment of members of the LCY Central Committee concerns all republican and provincial LC organizations [words indistinct]. This means that each of the republican central committees will carry out consultations and procedures to determine how many, and which, of its 19 members of the LCY Central Committee,—the 20th member is in the LCY Central Committee, according to the Statute—are to be proposed by each of the republican organizations to the LCY Central Committee to be released from their duties as members of the LCY Central Committee by applying the aforementioned criteria, and that each of the republican central committees will then propose new members to replace them. There are 14 members in the LCY Central Committee from each of the provincial organizations—the 15th member is in the LCY Central Committee, according to the Statute—and therefore the principle of renewal of up to one-third of the membership also applies here. However, this does not mean that this renewal must be carried out strictly proportionally by one-third, because in some cases local needs will dictate to some republican or provincial organizations that perhaps they should replace even more than one-third of the members, but I warn that an extraordinary conference would be necessary in this event. What is essential is to ensure that the statutory provisions are applied at the level of the entire LCY Central Committee—namely, that up to one-third of its members may be changed between two congresses.

Now I want to say a few things about the present membership of our Central Committee. I have noted that three-fourths of its members were elected at the 13th LCY Congress, and therefore these members have been in the Central Committee 2 years and 4 months. Accordingly, in discussing the activity and responsibility of this large majority of Central Committee members, as well as of the entire LCY Central Committee, we must bear in mind that its membership is new and that the duration of its term has been 2 years and 4 months. According to our new records, only 34 of the incumbent members of the LCY Central Committee hold professional full-time positions in the organs of state authority and the organs of sociopolitical organizations at the federal, republican, or provincial levels. This means that more than two-thirds of the incumbent members of this Central Committee have their workplaces in material production and social activities. Among the members of our Central Committee there are 37 workers, direct producers, and peasants, 29 engineers and technicians, 26 doctors and masters of science, and more than 20 presidents of management organs or directors of composite organizations of associated labor, organizations of associated labor, and basic organizations of associated labor. At present, two-thirds of the members of the LCY Central Committee have personal incomes no higher than 70 million old dinars each and there are also members who only have pensions of 12 million old dinars each—that is their only income. A large majority of them have no weekend houses or some kind of [word indistinct] or any other wealth or any other privileges, and so forth. A great deal could be said about all this. However, this is a separate topic which we should publicly discuss as soon as possible, because claims that Central Committee members are privileged and rich are heard among the public and are accepted and even persistently promoted by some people, just as criticisms are heard that Central Committee members are [words indistinct] who are separated from the people, and so forth.

As for changes in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, we have proposed that they be considered in light of the proposals on the criteria for relieving an LCY Central Committee member of his duty, assessing the work of the entire Presidium as a collective executive-political organ and of each of its members in implementing the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and the LCY Conference, and especially the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee, and assessing how the individual members carry out their duties;

that in assessing and determining the responsibility of the Presidium and each of its members in the spirit of the LCY Statute and in the manner regulated by the Statute, justified or rather well-founded criticism in the LC organization and organs and in the public at large should be taken into consideration;

that in the same sense, or rather on the basis of the criteria for relieving an LCY Central Committee member of his duty, and in the same way as applied to the Presidium members, the work should be assessed and responsibility be determined of all the executive secretaries of the Presidium.

Meanwhile, four members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium have submitted their resignations, which is a special sub-area of this point of business.

What is on the agenda, however, is the general responsibility of both the Central Committee and its Presidium for what they have omitted to do in the implementation of the policy of the 13th LCY Congress, the LCY Conference, and the conclusions and the stances of the Central Committee itself, as well as special responsibility for nonimplementation of the tasks contained in the conclusions of the ninth session on Kosovo.

Precisely for this reason, the proposal of the direct tasks and activities for overcoming the unfavorable political, economic, and social crisis in the country, which the LCY Central Committee is to adopt today, in its Point Seven—as the starting element for changes in the composition of the LCY Central Committee Presidium for the purpose of making its work more effective and united and so that it may implement the LCY policy and the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee, along with the assessments of the work and responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium as a collective organ, and of its individual members, for the realization of the

decisions of the 13th LCY Congress and the first LCY Conference [words indistinct]—envisages an assessment of (?how justified) and well-founded is criticism by LC organizations of the work of individual members of this Presidency.

This also refers to the assessments (?by) the presidiums of the central committees of the republics and of the provincial committees, and the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

The task in Point 11 of the proposal of the direct tasks and activities is directly connected with this. It obliges the LCY Central Committee Presidium to conduct a discussion of the justification for the criticism of both the LCY Central Committee members and the members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

You have received this proposal. Comrade Korosec did not mention this, but it was placed on your desks yesterday. We ask you to consider it and possibly amend it, and the Central Committee should then adopt it. If anybody has not received the papers, you may (?collect them) during the break. Papers may be collected without being properly looked at.

The public, as well as some LCY members, organizations, and organs, and a number of members of this Central Committee, has recently been voicing more and more criticism at the expense of the Presidium and its individual members. Let me add that, as far as I have been following our work over the past 2 days, some 10 to 15 members of the Central Committee voiced serious criticism against the Presidium here. It is another matter to what extent this criticism was supported by argument or not.

In the Presidium, we must know whether we have your confidence or not, whether we have your mandate or not. Therefore, we ask and we propose that the LCY Central Committee should decide whether the Presidium, as its executive organ and its members—except the comrades who have submitted resignations and we propose that these proposed resignations be accepted—enjoy the confidence of the Central Committee or not. This can be done in various ways, in different ways. We propose that this be done by secret ballot for each of the 10 remaining members of the Presidium on permanent assignment [clanovi predsednistva na stalnom radu], for according to the Statute this Central Committee does not decide on ex-officio members; it may express its opinion, but this is not binding [words indistinct].

Well, now we propose that this should be done by secret ballot for each of the remaining 10 Presidium members on permanent assignment, including the president and the secretary of the Presidium. This would be a political decision. The Presidium proposes it because of its feeling of responsibility toward its Central Committee and the entire LC, and the public at large in our country.

On the one hand we want to work in the most responsible and resolute manner, but on the other we cannot work and act under the present circumstances, in which we—as a leadership and as individuals—are exposed to much unprincipled pressure and unsupported criticism. We therefore ask the Central Committee to assess in a very tangible way the work of each one of us who is on permanent assignment in the Presidium.

I would again quote a precise request by the LCY Conference: Proceeding from the situation in society and in its ranks, from the criticism and demands by members, and from its obligations in implementing the tasks in these stances, the Central Committee should determine above all its own responsibility and the responsibility of its Presidium, and make the necessary changes in the method and content of its work, and in its cadre composition and the compositions of the Presidium and the working bodies, so as to insure that the political stances are (?adopted) on time and the decisions that are adopted are consistently implemented.

Now, 4 and ½ months after the conference, the Presidium asks that the Central Committee, proceeding from that situation in society and in its ranks, (?and taking into account) the criticism voiced by the members, establish its responsibility, that is the responsibility of the Presidium [words indistinct]. You, comrades, elected us by secret ballot, and you may replace us in the same way.

You have received the written resignations of Comrades Franc Setinc, Milanko Renovica, and Kolj Siroka as members of the Presidium, and of Bosko Krunic as a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and a member of the LCY Central Committee. The LCY Central Committee Presidium has discussed the resignation of these comrades and noted, among other things, that the comrades who are submitting their resignations are motivated by the intention to leave an opportunity for matters to be resolved on a principled basis both in the Presidium and in the Central Committee and for a renewal of their composition, and it is therefore proposed that the resignations be accepted.

Without touching on the right of the individual to explain his political and moral act before the public in the way he wants, and that he should bear possible consequences in public, the LCY Central Committee Presidium adopted the following stances and assessments concerning the resignations. This was fully agreed upon at the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium last night, and I will now read it:

Comrade Franc Setinc carried out the work and the tasks of a Presidium member in a disciplined and engaged way for the entire past period. He involved himself particularly in the SAWP bodies, struggling for its role as a true comprehensive front of socialist initiatives of the working people and citizens, as well as in the field of a creative involvement of Communists in information media. His dissatisfaction with the inherited methods of

work, which we have not succeeded in shedding to a sufficient degree, as well as with certain shortcomings in the work of both the Presidium and the Central Committee and the LCY, which caused him to propose to the LCY Central Committee Presidium that it consider electing a younger man from the LC of Slovenia to his post in the second half of the term, is shared by the Presidium itself, and we must all involve ourselves energetically both to change the methods and to increase both the responsibility and the efficacy of our leaderships and us in the LC leaderships.

Anyhow, for these reasons, and others beside, Comrade Setinc called his resignation a warning.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium considers that Comrade Milanko Renovica, first as president of the Presidium and then as its member, worked in a responsible and engaged way. This also refers to his behavior and work as regards implementation of the LCY Central Committee policy in Kosovo, both while he was president of the Presidium and later as the leader of the Presidium working group for Kosovo, which he was until recently. He shares the responsibility with all of us in the Presidium and the Central Committee in the sense referred to in Point Nine of the proposal of the direct tasks and activities, and in the stances of the Conference.

As part of the investigations in the Neum case and of other publicly disputed cases, the respective organs in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina will establish which of the publicly voiced assertions and criticism concerning Comrade Renovica are valid and which are not. The Presidium accepts a statement by Comrade Renovica that criticism spread in the public, and many untruths and slanders uttered, prevent him from successfully continuing to carry out the duty of a Presidium member.

The Presidium believes that Comrade Bosko Krunic explained his resignation in an appropriate way, first through the responsibility that is objectively present by the fact that, when he was president of the Presidium, both he and the Presidium, I quote him, despite (?all the intensity of) our work, did not succeed in checking the negative social trends; we could do more and better, regardless of our conviction that we did (?well).

The duty of the president, as Comrade Krunic said in his resignation which you have received—all four resignations were placed on your desks—imposes obligations determined by the Statute and special obligations.

Second, during an atmosphere of criticism and name-calling that lasted for several months, he was objectively prevented from further performing the duty of a Presidium member in a way—as he puts it himself—that would contribute to an increase in the results in the work of the collective bodies.

Acknowledging these reasons, the Presidium does not question the political and moral integrity of Comrade Krunic.

Proceeding from his acceptance and the necessity that all the LCY Conference stances be realized, Comrade Kolj Siroka explained his resignation with his wish to withdraw from the Presidium as its senior member, and thus contribute to the cadre renewal of the Presidium.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium observes that the LCY Central Committee in its regular statutory procedure today—this means (?a subsection on this point of the agenda)—will examine the proposal by the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia to relieve Comrade Kolj Siroka of his duties as a member of the LCY Central Committee, and will make its decision on this point.

Let me say something on my own behalf. I think that what I will say is shared by all the Presidium members, since we also spoke about it yesterday. Comrades who have been working for decades in the forefront of our socialist forces in various responsible offices are departing from our Presidium as a political executive collective organ. Regardless of the causes and reasons for their resignations, which differ from comrade to comrade, I believe that we should express our thanks for their overall work and contribution to our basic social strivings.

Here I would fully share in what General Mirkovic said at our session yesterday. I quote him: We must prevent everything that is not humane and not cultured in this connection, and especially what is untrue. Everybody is entitled to the statutory procedure. Regardless of why and how people depart, we must part with them in a humane way. I do not wish—I am quoting General Mirkovic—to turn my back tomorrow on comrades with whom I have sat in these benches, and to avoid their eyes, unless they have gone over to the ranks of the enemies.

And third, we must be principled and we must react, even when we are not personally concerned. In the communities where we work, we are obliged to prevent mud-slinging at Central Committee members. I have quoted Comrade Mirkovic because he put it so nicely.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium proposes to the Central Committee that it accept these stances and assessments which I have just presented regarding the resignation of the four comrades. The Central Committee should.... [Suvar changes thought]

Let us go on. The fifth point in my speech. The Central Committee should decide on initiating the procedure on the basis of the proposal by the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia to dismiss Comrades Kolj Siroka, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Azem Vlasi from membership in this Central Committee, bearing in mind the stances of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo concerning

this proposal. You have received both the proposals and the stances and assessments [Suvar corrects himself] both the proposal and the stances and the assessments of the Provincial Committee.

And last, the Presidium proposes to the Central Committee that it should initiate the procedure for determining the responsibility of Comrade Munir Mesihovic, member of the LCY Central Committee, on the basis of a proposal by the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina that has also been distributed to you.

Sokolovic, Stojanovic, Vlasi Debate

LD2010153788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1158 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Proceedings of the 17th LCY Central Committee Session 19 October in Belgrade, chaired by Stefan Korosec, LCY Central Committee Presidium secretary—recorded]

[Text] [Zoran Sokolovic, member of the LCY Central Committee and secretary of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium] Comrades, at the beginning the chairman proposed, and the Central Committee in effect approved, the initiative of the Serbian LC Central Committee that in accordance with the statute, a working group should be formed. I considered that there is no need either to give a special explanation of this proposal of the Serbian LC Central Committee or that a debate should be opened, that the arguments which we put forward in the explanation are sufficient. However, after the discussion which was nevertheless opened on the proposal of the Serbian LC Central Committee, I would after all like to say a few words. But I should say right away in connection with the decision, and not in connection with what was said here by Comrade Vlasi, Comrade Kolj, and Comrade Sveto Dolasevic, and members of the LCY Central Committee, because I have no right to speak about this here. This will be said by other members of the Central Committee.

The Communists in Serbia, and I believe throughout the country, today expect that this LCY Central Committee session will end with an open Communist facing-up to the responsibilities for failing to implement the established LCY policy on, above all, Kosovo. Both yesterday and the day before yesterday, it was said many times that Kosovo is Yugoslavia's biggest political and moral problem. The counterrevolution has been going on for 8 years and the country's security has been endangered. Comrade Nebojsa Tica and many others spoke about this extensively. They pointed out that the prolonged and continuous worsening of the political-security situation in Kosovo most directly affects the total social and political situation in the country and this threatens its security as a whole. It is very important to bear in mind that the great number of Albanians are pro-Yugoslavian, that they are in favor of the brotherhood and unity of its peoples and nationalities, but that these feelings are suppressed and blocked by the activities of the counterrevolutionary forces. The Kosovo LC—this is clear in the document which we are going to adopt—bears the greatest responsibility for these obstacles not having been removed, and for the fact that the creative energy and positive orientation of the great majority of Albanians have not been released in crushing the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

The main reason for this is that instead of unity and resolve in realizing the tasks, the Kosovo LC and its leadership have long debates on the assessment of the situation; instead of working with people they work in forums; instead of a joint front of all nations and nationalities living in Kosovo, we have disunity and national division. This was strongly manifested at the last session of the provincial committee, which demonstrated the drastic nature of the divisions on the intranational basis.

The assessment was made here again yesterday that the solution to the Kosovo crisis can only be achieved by mobilizing all the progressive forces of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia; by effective implementation of state functions; by overcoming opportunism, bureaucratic hibernation, and apathy in the work of the LC—but, comrades, the first condition is to establish individual and collective responsibility. A great mistake was made in not establishing responsibility in 1981. This was noted at the ninth session of the Central Committee. This was also the reason for failure to implement the poliical platform on Kosovo. Although this mistake was made then, we should not repeat it today because we will not be able to carry out the tasks we have set for ourselves in our struggle against the counterrevolution. We will not change the situation without establishing personal responsibility. It should be clear today that there is objective responsibility for everything that has been and is happening in Kosovo. It is the biggest and the most important responsibility for the exponents of the highest functions in Kosovo and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, because their duties, possibilities, activities, and influence on the overall situation in the province were the largest. Azem Vlasi was right to mention the duties of the Serbian LC Central Committee, but it is precisely the Serbian LC Central Committee, comrades, discussing the question of Kosovo a year ago, which realized ideopolitical differentiation in its narrowest leadership. For this reason the Serbian LC Central Committee has now submitted a concrete proposal to relieve three of its members of duties as members for failure to implement the conclusions of the ninth session and realize the policy of the LCY with regard to suppressing the counterrevolution.

The membership and people have been expecting this responsibility for years. Starting with the beginning of the counterrevolution in 1981 and the passing of the political platform on Kosovo up to the congresses in 1982 and 1986, and the 9th and the 16th sessions of the

LCY Central Committee, it is incomprehensible that the situation in Kosovo could deteriorate year after year without the LC establishing the responsibility of any of its members.

In view of this, this 17th session should not end its work without assuming a definite stand on the individual responsibility for the fact that the policy of fighting the counterrevolution has not been implemented. In my view, the majority of speakers at this plenum supported the need to establish responsibility in this case and for cadre renewal in the LC. A crucial precondition for cadre renewal in Kosovo is the establishment of political responsibility of all those who by their inexpedient activity or lack of action in carrying out sociopolitical tasks have produced or contributed to the present difficult situation.

Owing to the nature of its role and responsiblity in Yugoslav society, the LCY Central Committee must initiate the process of establishing concrete responsibility of its individual members. It is my personal view that if in the present situation, and in the light of the assessments made yesterday and the day before and incorporated in the document, the Central Committee fails to specify those responsible for the situation in Kosovo, then its authority and competence in performing all other responsible tasks will be at stake.

Comrades, I have no right to say this, but I will say it nevertheless. Members of the LCY Central Committee should be the first to be called to account for their work and the exacerbated situation in society. This Central Committee has assessed that the Kosovo problem both concerns the entire country and is threatening Yugoslavia. Therefore there can be no delay in responding to the demand for establishing individual responsibility.

The Serbian LC Central Committee formulated a concrete proposal at its 13th session and subsequently submitted it to the LCY Central Committee. The proposal contains the most vital facts concerning Comrades Vlasi, Kolj, and Dolasevic. Therefore, I will not go into all that here again. I would just like to say that the working group formed by the Central Committee will, as far as the Serbian LC Central Committee is concerned, be provided with all necessary arguments and facts on which the Serbian LC proposal was based. I think that they would also provide most of the answers to these issues raised by Comrades Vlasi, Kolj, and Dolasevic.

I would like to end by saying that by agreeing on the need to issue a warning to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, we have already set in motion the process of implementing the decision contained in the document to establish political responsibility. By holding today's session, or rather by forming the working group to establish the responsibility, this Central Committee has embarked on its part of the work. I am convinced that the working group, and especially this Central Committee, will take into account all relevant facts and make the correct decision on this initiative. In contrast with Comrade Vlasi, I have full confidence in both the working group and in the LCY Central Committee, in particular. I also wish to say that the Serbian LC Central Committee proposal contains not a single sentence questioning the personal or political integrity of Comrade Vlasi, Comrade Kolj, or Comrade Dolasevic.

[Korosec] Comrade Vlasi is given an opportunity to reply. He will be followed by Comrade Stojanovic, who has asked to speak.

[Azem Vlasi, member of the LCY Central Committee] Comrade Sokolovic said that, unlike me, he had full confidence in this Central Committee and in the working group. I do not know how to interpret this, since I have repeated twice that I also have full confidence in this Central Committee and in the working group. However, I have no confidence in some methods and ways of the press—which we have all become used to—which prejudges things. I therefore dissociate myself from the insinuation that I have no confidence in this Central Committee or in the working group.

[Korosec] Comrade Stojanovic [not further identified] will speak next.

[Stojanovic] I consider this one of the examples of how we should not work. As envisaged by the Statute, an initiative was set in motion by a Central Committee member and then submitted to this Central Committee for consideration. We have acepted this initiative, formed a working group, and specified its tasks in very concrete terms. Taking into account what the initiative calls for, the group is to establish facts, to prepare a report on the basis of established facts, and make a proposal to be discussed at our 19th session. Since we have come to this conclusion we have, with the permission of the working presidium, embarked on opening up a debate. At this moment, this debate is completely inappropriate, because all of these matters and all of the issues that Comrades Azem, Kolj, Dolasevic, and Comrade Kacusa [Jasari] thought worth warning against will be discussed when the working group's results become available. Since so much time has already been spent on this discussion, I would like to know what the purpose of it was. Therefore, I think that we should look at this self-critically and realize that this is not the way to go about things. Comrade Azem also dissociated himself from a remark that was meant to produce an effect, and I must admit that was my impression, too. First, because this is a topical subject and because of some of the elements in what was said.

Warnings were voiced by both Comrades Kacusa and Azem as well as Comrade Dolasevic to the effect that the working group should work in a principled and communist-like manner, etcetera. I do not know how could this be interpreted in any other way but as some kind of a priori doubt that its work would be done in such a way. If there are preliminary doubts in the group's work, then

it should not have been formed in the first place. I do not think that this Central Committee should approve of such doubts, particularly after the 3-day discussion in which calls were made for all of us to show common sense and clarify all factors concerning responsibility, regardless of whether the initiative appears to be founded or not at the time it is launched. Therefore, I propose that we end the present discussion and adhere to what was decided before the discussion opened. All of these issues and anything else that anyone feels should be said about them should be left for the 19th session. Thank you.

[Korosec] Comrade Stanja [Stanislav Stojanovic], the working presidium proposed, after the decision was adopted to form a working group, that we should not conduct a debate, but that the debate should be held at the 19th Central Committee session. This was one of the suggestions, but we decided not to vote on it. I propose that the Central Committee cast a vote on this suggestion—in other words, that the debate should be concluded and that all these issues be discussed comprehensively at the 19th Central Committee session on the basis of the working group's report. Do you agree? Raise your hands if you are for. Good. This ends the discussion on the third item on the agenda. We will now proceed to the fourth item on the agenda.

At the initiative of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee to establish the ideopolitical responsibility of LCY Central Committee member Munir Mesihovic, a special working group has to be formed at this session with the task of preparing a report and submitting it for consideration and adoption at the 19th session. This working group would establish facts and circumstances and propose to the Central Committee relevant conclusions and measures envisaged bdy the LCY Statute. The working presidium proposes that, if the initiative is accepted, the working group be composed of the following comrades: Bogdan Trifunovic, Milo Djukanovic, Ivo Karamarko, and Nebojsa Tica. Does anyone have anything to say? I propose that the Central Committee cast a vote on the initiative and the proposed working group. Who is for, please raise your hands. Anyone against? One. I suggest a 15-minute break.

Dolanc Warns of Vote Effect

AU2010153688 Belgrade Domstic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Speech by Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] Comrade Chairman, comrades: A short while ago when I heard the applause following the speech by Comrade Vule [Vukasin Micunovic, who proposed that confidence in the LCY Presidium should be expressed by acclamation and not a secret ballot], I began to wonder whether this applause meant support for the Presidium or pleasure with the fact that there would be no vote. I think that we should ponder deeply what all this—including our discussion at this moment, if you wish—means in the present situation.

I have been a party member for a bit shorter period than Comrade Vule, but I have been here a long time and yet I have not experienced anything like this. I fully agree with his assessment in this respect.

However, I ask myself why the Presidium even posed the question of confidence in it. I highly value this act by the Presidency, as an act of great political responsibility and as a sign of their high consciousness. But probably it did this for quite specific reasons: It did this because such and such number of the Presidium members—all right, also of the Central Committee members, but (?I think) it is a matter of the Presidium—have been subjected to expressions of mistrust in various ways, including here at this session, if you will. Therefore, the Presidium posed the question of confidence with full justification.

The problem now is how this confidence, or lack of confidence, is to be checked, and what will happen afterwards. We are often ready to provoke a conflict very quickly and cause a conflicting situation, but we do not consider what might follow.

(?If I am) frankly (?to express) my opinion—and I think that this is one of the arguments—it may happen that, say, one-half of the comrades present here will fail to win two-thirds of the vote. What will this mean? This means that tomorrow, in the present situation, we will have no leadership.

[Suvar interjects] We have nine presidents [of the republican and provincial LC's and the LCY organization in the Army].

[Dolanc] The nine presidents—it was noted here who they are, what they are, and what their position is. I highly respect them, but they cannot lead the LCY. The LCY should be led by the LCY Central Committee, and the Presidium should carry this out. The Central Committee leads.

In the situation in which we find ourselves, we do not even have the time to be choosing a new leadership for a month or two. We do not have the time. Even if we leave these people to carry out their duties—and no one will have confidence in them—until the new ones replace them—I do not think that this is very good.

Another argument: You know how the members of the Presidium are elected. They are virtually proposed by the Central Committees of their republics or the provincial committees. On the basis of this proposal, the Central Committee elects its Presidium. But now we are replacing them without consulting the Central Committees of the republics or the provincial committees. All right, we can pass over this. We have recently passed over many things, bypassed the Statute, and so on and

soforth, due to the situation in which we find ourselves. We justify all this in all sorts of ways, because this suits the present situation. I nevertheless think that we should pause to consider what this means. What does this mean?

I wish to say, comrades, that this discussion here and now will cost us $1 billion in our present situation. We forget what consequences these discussions of ours have on our economic position in the world. The very danger that the LC—which is still recognized, even by the world, as the vanguard of this country or in this country—has no leadership or will have no leadership: This is no joke, comrades. We must think about this.

In conclusion, let me decide and let me be clear. I think that first of all we must ensure stability, a normal situation, in the whole country. We must stop the name-calling, we must stop provoking any type of conflict situation. Let us now set a term of 1 month within which the republics, the central committees, and the provincial committees should discuss the problem—I agree with those comrades who said it here today—of who will be named to the new Central Committee, who will make up this one-third of the new Central Committee, and after 1 month, when we will have the Central Committee with its new composition, this new Central Committee membership should check the Presidium, express its confidence or lack of confidence, and elect a Presidium that will be responsible to this new Presidium [as heard], both in its composition [as heard], and so on and so forth.

Let us not decide today, but let us decide, or rather let the new Central Committee decide on this. There will still be two-thirds of the old Central Committee that will be able to say what it wishes about the new Presidium.

If you please, I have nothing against a vote if it is needed, but I think that we should be aware of the consequences, the political consequences, of what it means, of what it means [Dolanc repeats himself].

I agree with those comrades. I think that we have nevertheless imparted a tone to this session during these 2 days. It would be a pity, a pity, if we were to provoke a conflict situation without knowing how to get out of it. Thank you.

Mojsov Urges Open Vote of Confidence

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[Speech by Lazar Mojsov, member of the SFRY Presidency, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] Comrades: I think that every member of the Central Committee can deeply value the true, (?actual), human motives that the Presidium expressed in its proposal that we should hold a vote of confidence in it by secret ballot. Although this is outside the Statute norms and outside the provisions on the election of the Presidium, this deserves every praise from all the Central Committee members. Things have now got so far that we have different interpretations of the Statute norms. We can now get entangled in an incredible battle over details, regarding whether we may vote, whether we should vote, and what the Statute is.

I beg you, comrades, in all this discussion we should not take all these details into account, but should take into account the place and the time in which we live, and where we are. The time demands—and this was the demand of the entire LC membership—that we unite ourselves, be unified, not because of some false unity, but because of unity needed for action to change the situation without endless discussions about the analysis of this situation. This is why we should leave out all these [word indistinct] elements, and take only essential elements—namely, that we must emerge from this session more united than before. We all [word indistinct] and heard this from the numerous speeches made in the last 2 days, when the speakers expressed support for the introductory speech and the draft document. This can be seen from the many telegrams sent by various organizations and groups who demand unity and not a lack of unity in our action. This is why I regard this as the most important thing. We have already expressed our confidence in the discussion, and by adopting the document. I demand [Mojsov corrects himself], I appeal to you, taking into account the time in which we live, to express unity by giving our confidence to the Presidium, which will be renewed by one-third anyway, to carry on pursuing this united action. The Presidium has prepared this session well. In this action we should show what we stand for. Those of us who are going to leave will be followed by younger men who will perhaps do their job even better.

This is why I appeal to the members of the Central Committee to rise above the current feelings and above indulging in some kind of secret ballot, some checks that they will place, or not place, beside the name of some Presidium members. We should express our confidence in the Presidium publicly in the way we have already done through the discussion, by adopting the introductory speech, and by adopting the document.

The time in which we live is too important to express unity in this way. Any disunity that could arise from whatever details could be used to this end will only be to the detriment of the further LC action. I am in favor of these 10 members of the Presidium being given full confidence in a public manner by, as I said, our acceptance of the introductory speech and the draft document, including amendments. We must emerge from this 17th session more united and must finally show all our peoples and nationalities that the time of long analyses and outwitting people is over, and that it is high time for action. This action will only be successful if we are united.

Korosec Gives Concluding Speech

LD2010221988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1541 GMT 19 Oct 88

[Concluding Speech by Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the 17th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Comrades, the debate was comprehensive, thorough, and reflected all the seriousnesss of the present situation. It covered all the most important issues at the current juncture. It concentrated on ways out of the crisis, on our future, and on the immediate tasks facing Communists, on which depend the implementation of the LCY policy and primarily of the standpoints of the LCY conference and the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress.

There was strong evidence of a mood and demand for the LC's unity in action, for the unity of Yugoslavia on the basis of self-management and the full equality of nations and nationalities, and for our society to keep abreast of the modern world through implementing the three reforms. A heightened awareness of the fact that the three reforms are firmly and mutually conditional and of the need for executing them simultaneously and with the same vigor was a new development. This provides us with optimism and a belief that the LCY has enough strength to overcome the weak points in its ranks. Comrade Suvar's introductory speech was supported in the discussion and parts of it have been incorporated in the final document. The speech and the discussion itself have provided us with significant ideopolitical guidelines for pulling out of the crisis. Of special importance is the call made at the session for the democratic renewal and reform of the LCY. Over the last 2 days, the LCY's top organ has demonstrated a high degree of responsibility and a willingness to make great efforts to meet the demands of the majority of members, to agree on a united approach to these demands, and to translate them into a common program of immediate tasks. Only with such a program as a platform can we expect to rally all creative forces of our society committed to the reform. The calls for ending confrontations and public polemics between the LC organs of individual republics and provinces, and for creating and strengthening a common ideological and political front in Yugoslavia, are integral parts of such an orientantion and sense of responsibility.

The prevalance of this kind of atmosphere at the session and the mood among the membership and the working people are reflected in the final version of the document. All that has been proposed is aimed at strengthening the unity of Yugoslav Communists and of all ideological and political forces of socialist self-management. The entire discussion, as well as the views by all the central and provincial LC committees, contain support for the document. It could be said that fundamental political agreement has been reached on the document. I would like to emphasize that the proposal of the document was available to all LC members and to the entire public, which received it positively. This is of great importance in the present crisis situation, which is marked by great dissatisfaction, and in light of the fact that many of our previous documents were received with a great deal of criticism, and even mistrust.

In light of all this, the LCY Central Committee's working group has decided to propose that the LCY Central Committee accept the document, but with amendments and changes aimed at improving it, which were made during our 2-day debate and in the proposal by the presidiums of the central and provincial LC committees.

The session overcame some of the differences in views on a number of the most important issues on which depends our unity of action in implementing the three reforms and resolving current economic and social problems. We also have established those issues on which we are united. This does not mean that we have eliminated all differences and that differences will not arise during the work on further improving and implementing the economic and political reform. These differences will have to be settled through continued work, but at the moment it is of vital importance that this session has provided political prerequisites for this. We must not allow the current situation to perpetuate itself, we must be unanimous in our support for the reform, for recovery in Kosovo, for restructuring, for a modern economy, and for curbing inflation, while at the same time we can advocate differing views and interests in executing these tasks.

I would like to underline that these important tasks and their implementation call for consolidation of the political situation in the country. The 2-day debate at the session centered on economic reform and the resolution of the most topical economic and social problems. This is the area from which originate all contradictions, conflict, and clashes, both in the LC and in society as a whole.

The gist of all calls made here was that an end must be put to slowness and wavering in executing economic reform, which is a crucial prerequisite for emergence from the crisis. Determination and unanimity were expressed over the need to end exceptionally unfavorable economic trends, to urgently resolve social welfare problems, especially among the working class, young people and other sections of the population. To this end, it was stressed, justified demands by workers and citizens made in recent months in the most dramatic way must be met.

The gist of all demands made at the session concerning the political system was summed up by the demand for the deepest possible changes which would lead to a radical democratization of the system. I would stress here a view voiced during the debate at the session to the effect that so far less has been done about the political

system, by formulating and implementing concrete reform measures, than in the area of economy, and that efforts must be made to bring about faster and deeper changes in that area. The constitutional reform attracted most attention. This is the most topical task and an important prerequisite for the overall reform of the political system. In view of the fact that this issue will be considered in greater detail at the 18th session which is to follow immediately after the 17th, it is understandable why members of the Central Committee decided not to make proposals for revising these tasks. The working group has no vital amendments or changes to make in this area.

However, a number of LCY Central Committee members have focused their attention on changes in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. This issue was covered as a separate item under the Immediate Tasks. It is normal to have exceptional attention devoted to these issues in the light of their great importance for relations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in the Federation, and for the stability of Yugoslavia. One of the key problems which could not be circumvented in either the introductory speech or the debate is the situation in Kosovo. Of greatest importance is the fact that we are all unanimous about not just the character and the seriousness of the situation, but also about demands for responsibility and for specifying further tasks in line with the 13th LCY Congress and the 9th and the 16th sessions of the LCY Central Committee. It is unnecessary to repeat all the assessments and tasks, but I must stress that we are still faced with most serious and dramatic problems in this area. It is important that ideological and political unity of the LCY Central Committee has been reached, for it represents a solid basis for the LC's further action in settling accounts with all those who, for whatever reasons, are not prepared to carry out this action in a determined and consistent way. It is natural that most attention was devoted to the LC. We proceeded from a unanimous view that in this area the least changes have been made and that a reform in the LCY is an urgent task. The work on changes must, of course, start immediately and by the next congress we must produce concrete and comprehensive results. In committing itself to such a task, the LCY Central Committee insists on a comprehensive reform, from the political to the economic sphere, as a continuing process.

A cadre renewal, as a continuing process, is one of the key tasks in the framework of reforming the LC. This is one of the fundamental demands made by the membership and the widest circles of the working citizens and that is why we have devoted great attention to it in our document. It is becoming increasingly obvious that without new capable cadres in the LC we cannot carry out serious changes in either the LC or society as a whole.

I wish to stress that all the proposals and contributions made at the session are aimed at achieving much greater unity of the LC in the action to resolve the most important ideological and political issues of society and aim at ensuring that the most capable cadres are brought into leading positions, cadres who will have the capacity to resolve these issue in the most successful way.

In this context, for every organ in the LC and every individual within it the accountability is increasingly being heightened for carrying out the established policy and commitments, and the greatest number of tasks in this area fall in this category.

Altogether, 55 amendments and proposals were submitted to the document as a whole. None of the amendments changed the basic meaning or essence of the draft document. All the proposed amendments were submitted, together with the text of the proposal, which was submitted to the Central Committee for decision-making. The text of the draft amendments and addenda points out in capital letters that it is basically a matter of more precise formulation and concretization of specific tasks in the document, better definition of the tasks from the view point of the LC's role and responsibility, and more specific terms for certain deadlines, to the extent to which this is possible and necessary. A number of amendments—that is, concrete proposals for the changes and additions to the text—were put forth at a discussion at this session.

Monitoring the discussion at the session, the working group examined all these proposals and built a number of them into the draft document. For instance, a large number of concrete proposals made by Comrade Radovan Radonjic were included in the text, as well as a number of proposals by Comrade Vukasin Micunovic, but those by Comrade Radonjic were not quantified. However, the discussion on numerous topics exceeded the framework of the topics set by the document. Also, in a number of discussions, some questions were raised and suggestions made which were basically in support of the document, but could not be transferred into concrete amendments. Some noted in the discussion that individual stands, particularly in the economic sphere, could be made more complete and extensive than is the case with the document. The reason for not doing so was to make the text as short and simple as possible. Some proposals called for stands on open questions in the economic system to be more precise, which we were unable to do at this moment. The Central Committee session on these issues, at which these proposals also will be examined, is approaching.

I would like to stress in particular that the report contained a whole series of concrete suggestions for action, some of which were included in the document, and a number of speakers proposed it. Some amendments could not be accepted for the following reasons: To accept them would mean expanding the volume of the text, though from the view point of their essence, the amendments' content does not greatly differ from the character of what has been proposed; furthermore the number of topics that would have been included in the document would go up, which is not necessary at this

moment. A specific quantification and concretization are proposed in connection with some amendments and this does not fall under the jurisdition of the LCY, but of competent state organs. I particularly stress this because the process of sobering up the LCY also must be reflected in the documents we will examine and pass at the Central Committee sessions.

I would point out briefly those concrete proposals for specific amendments which were not included in the document. The preamble did not include those proposed amendments calling for more details on the content of the decisions passed by the LCY Conference, and on raising the reputation of Yugoslavia in the world and of the LCY in the international communist and labor movement. Furthermore, the economic part did not accept the amendment that sought to define in more precise terms the quantification and to quantify all the decisions that should be passed in connection with rationalizing the use of social goods and economizing in connection with certain rights of social protection. Neither was the proposal included which sought to have individual responsibility in the SFRY Assembly, the assemblies of the republics and provinces, and all sociopolitical organizations be established at their next sessions and that they should come out clearly on further confidence in their executive-political organs. [word indistinct].

Speaking of tasks referring to constitutional changes in Serbia, Item Five, Article Three of the amendment is quite controversial, as you can see. The working group noted that these amendments did not propose a new stand, but that they interpreted what was said in the existing text in a different way. Considering that this text was coordinated and unanimously adopted by the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, especially with the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Presidiums of the LC Provincial Committees of Vojvodina and Kosovo, we propose that this stand remain unchanged.

Speaking about the amendment referring to the assessment of the LCY Central Committee members' performance, its essence is contained in the criteria of renewal of the LCY Central Committee which were discussed as Item Three of the agenda.

As far as the proposal for defining the method and order in which the LCY Central Commitee will assess the performance of republican and provincial organs is concerned, it is noted that this method was established in the operational program of the activity of the LCY Central Committee, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and their working bodies with regard to the realization of the LCY conference stands. A formulation was also put forward in which the order of such an assessment would be established by the Presidium itself.

Four proposals were submitted on Item Seven [of the agenda], three of which refer to the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the appointment of new members of the LCY Central Committee and of its Presidium, as well as the activity of the Central Committee and the Central Committee Presidium and also the provincial committees of the LC. These proposals are already contained in item six referring to immediate tasks and in the criteria for the renewal of the Central Committee.

As far as the initiative for forming appropriate groups for establishing the possible responsibility of those members of the LCY Central Committee who were subjected to criticism in accordance with the LCY Statute—and these are most certainly the ones sent by organizations and organs of the LC—is concerned, we think that this material comes under Item 11 and that it should perhaps be incorporated into this item in the following way: The LCY Central Committee thinks that the members of the LCY Central Committee who were subjected to substantiated criticism in organs and organizations of the LC should publictly reply to this criticism and either refute it in a substantiated way or take the appropriate consequences. This amendment was proposed, but the working groups rejected it, bearing in mind a number of suggestions, and it is my duty to inform you about it in particular. The proposal for reducing the current mandate to 3 years should not be accepted, in our opinion. Specific proposals contained in this amendment from the point of view of the professionalization of political work, the surplus of candidates, secret ballots, and so on are contained in the stands of the LCY Conference and in the operational program.

Item Nine referring to Kosovo attracted in the first place the amendment by Comrade Vinko Hafner, who appealed for emphasis on intradependence of the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, but because the report by Comrade Stipe Suvar also descriptively emphasizes such a stand we have taken on a basis of our addenda the text from the report which expresses in its essence the meaning of what was proposed by Hafner.

The amendment to Item 10 by Comrade Bogdan Trifunovic called for shortening a part of the text on page 12. The working group proposes that this shortening should be refused because these are important stands in connection with meetings and gatherings of citizens which were examined in detail and coordinated in the LCY Central Committee Presidium. They were also the subject of careful examination in the presidiums of provincial and republican central committees on two occasions. For this reason we think that this is the most adequate and the most acceptable text possible. For this reason, too, we suggested that the proposal of the Croatian LC Central Commitee Presidium should be rejected as it considerably lengthens the stands on this issue and this is unnecessary for this document.

The working group proposes acceptance of the proposal by Stevan Mirkovic which refers to the need for discussing topical ideopolitical matters of the concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection and the establishing of the tasks of the LC organs and organizations in further consolidating the country's defense and security. The LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee will include this topic into their work program and so we propose it as a working conclusion and not to be included in the document.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to a number of technical mistakes in the final text. The biggest mistake is on page 10 where an entire stand was omitted from the previous text and which we had originally included but which was then [word indistinct] in the form of a correction. Apart from this, there are some mistakes in wording. I propose that we remove these mistakes while editing the text. In conclusion, comrades, the working group proposes that the LCY Central Committee, while adopting the final document from this session, should task all Communists, organs, and organizations of the LC in all the institutions of the system, delegate assemblies, associated labor, independent local and other communities with consistently striving for its realization and thus contributing to the consolidation of the LCY's ideological and action unity and the political consolidation of the country as prerequisites for successful implementation of the adopted course of the three reforms.

Finally, let us simply accept the idea and suggestion of Comrade Micunovic that everyone, individually and all of us together, should implement these stands and the three reforms. Thank you.

TANJUG Assesses Session Import

LD2010163488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1506 GMT 20 Oct 88

["After 17th LCY Central Committee Session"—TANJUG headline; by Gordon Ranitovic]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 October (TANJUG)—"The Yugoslav orientation for reform prevailed at the 17th plenary session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee" said Dr Stipe Suvar, the party leader.

The Central Committee, whose session was held at a time of social and political turmoil, managed to calm the situation and take a substantial step forward in overcoming republican and provincial differences.

The imposition of emergency measures, of which there was much talk in the foreign press, was again categorically rejected.

"For the first time since Tito's death we have carried out a renovation without waiting for party congress" assessed Suvar. He underscored that the renewal of socialism means the end of the party state and the beginning of a constitutional system in which powers are limited and subject to public control.

The Yugoslav Communists, who were until recently considered the boldest reformers in the international workers' movement, have decided to do away with the "lethargy" of the past few years and resume seeking new roads in the development of socialism, keeping with the requirements of the 21st century.

It has become obvious that, along with the initiated political and economic reforms, the party will also have to be transformed in order to create conditions for sweeping changes in the society and the economy. Guidelines have already been drawn up for "divorcing the marriage" between the party and the state. It has also become clear that the ossified political bureaucracies, unwilling to give up their broad powers, are among the biggest obstacles to economic reform. It was therefore decided to free the economy from the tutorship of the party and state and leave its regulation to free-acting market and economic laws.

Speakers in the debate strongly criticized the mounting unobservance of intra-party democracy and the interests of the country as a whole. They insisted on the reaffirmation of the principle of democratic centralism and the "lowering of national flags" in the interest of the country's unity. They also stressed that an end must be put to "disqualifications and campaigns" against those who hold different opinions.

Settlement of the Kosovo drama was cited as the main precondition for calming the political passions in the country. Recalling that the ultimate objective of ethnic Albanian chauvinists is to create an ethnically pure Kosovo and join it to neighboring Albania, and that they resort to the most brutal crimes in order to achieve this aim, the plenum underscored that allegations on the inequality of Albanians in Yugoslavia must be unmasked. Albanians in Yugoslavia are the only national minority in the world who have their university, academy of arts and sciences and all other institutions of culture and information. Ethnic Albanians also hold the most responsible positions in the Yugoslav Federation. For instance, Albanians have been presidents of both the state and party presidencies.

The top party leadership stressed that Albanian chauvinism must be resolutely suppressed and that much more effort must be invested in resolving the Kosovo crisis than up to now. The measures used must primarily be political but also all others allowed under the Yugoslav Constitution.

It was also decided to raise with more determination the issue of accountability for the poor results achieved so far in fighting chauvinism and separatism. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia asked

the top LCY forum to expel three high Kosovo officials—Kolj Siroka, Azem Vlasi and Svetislav Dolasevic—from its ranks. The LCY Central Committee will take a decision on this proposal at its next session.

The LCY Central Committee accepted the resignations of Franc Setinc, Bosko Krunic, Milanko Renovica and Kolj Siroka from the Presidency.

There is no doubt that the dissatisfaction of Yugoslavs with their leadership and the situation in the country had a decisive influence on these cadres changes, as well as the LCY Presidency's decision to ask the Central Committee for a vote of confidence in each of its members. The vote, by secret ballot, was the first time in the history of the Yugoslav Communist Party that the work of its leadership was evaluated in this way, between two party congresses.

Following a polemic on whether the vote should be taken at all at this time, in which way (by a show of hands or a secret ballot), and warnings that the impact of the results on the situation in the country and its unity must be taken into account, the ballot was taken. All the Presidency members secured the necessary majority of votes (over 50 percent of the total number of the LCY Central Committee members) except Dusan Ckrebic, a representative of Serbia. Ckrebic immediately resigned though he was not obliged to do so under the party statute.

The Yugoslav Communists' first experience with a vote of confidence in their leadership nevertheless left a mark. Time will show whether it was a painful one. Some saw the result as lack of confidence in the policies of Serbia. Disappointed with the outcome, Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, a Presidency member from Macedonia wondered if the result actually denoted 'the defeat of one republic and the victory of an unprincipled coalition'.

Tupurkovski's assessment was rejected by LCY Presidency President Stipe Suvar who said the Central Committee must get used to such outcomes as normal democratic practice. At the proposal of Slobodan Milosevic, the Central Committee decided to consider Ckrebic's resignation at its next session.

Possibly the LCY Central Committee did not quite find its bearings in regard to the vote but it is indisputable that it has sailed into new, democratic waters, as the decision to change one-third of the membership of the Central Committee, as many as allowed under the statute, amply testifies. Henceforth knowledgeability and results must be the decisive criteria for the election of all officials.

"This is not a purge but a normal cadre renewal", Suvar emphasized. Yugoslav Communists have proved that they are for reforms and that they find Yugoslavia more important than any of its separate parts. Apparently the situation had to reach absurd proportions before Yugoslavs woke up. Since masses of people lost their patience and, encouraged by support from some politicians, above all in Serbia, decided to take matters into their hands, the Yugoslav leadership came to its senses and accepted the challenge. Now the leadersip itself insists on cadre changes, reforms and votes of confidence.

Massive protests, despite some unacceptable and occasionally militant slogans, have brought something new. Unless they have positive resutls to their credit and enjoy the confidence of the people, Yugoslav politicians can no longer be sure of their posts.

Having reached its peak, the conflict between the working class and bureaucratic structures has evidently brought the country to a turning point.

Government To Lower Budget by 16.3 Percent

LD2010194388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1810 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, October 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's federal government will lower its budget by 16.3 percent by the end of the year in response to workers' demands for disburdening enterprises of taxes and other duties, Federal Finance Secretary Svetozar Rikanovic said in Belgrade today.

Rikanovic said the federal government was lowering customs duties and turnover taxes on oil products to lower this year's budget by 1,170 billion dinars (1 U.S. dollar equals around 3,600 dinars).

He called the six republics, two autonomous provinces and over 500 communities to lower their own duties on enterprises' incomes.

Rikanovic was speaking at session in the Assembly of Yugoslavia which adopted several amendments to laws today enabling a lowering of state impositions on the economy.

The impositions now stand at up to 50 percent of enterprises' total earnings but that chiefly results from republican, provincial and community regulations, economy representatives said.

The changes came after workers' staged mass protests and strikes over the past few months and complained of low salaries and a rapid drop in living standards in front of the Federal Assembly several times.

The Federal Assembly also adopted an amendment to the law on limiting salary rises, raising the limit from the present 119 percent to 140 percent as compared to last year.

This year's salaries expressed in real terms are 13.4 percent lower than last year's official figures show.

Annual inflation now stands at 217 percent with Premier Mikulic's government still unable to find a solution.

The Federal Assembly also adopted legal amendments to enable lowering interest rates which are greatly burdening Yugoslav enterprises.

Further Report
LD2010124788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 20 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—With the reduction in customs duties and import duties, the Federation has this year unburdened the economy by about 739 billion dinars, and by the end of the year a further 200 billion will be "liberated", which is equal to 13 percent of the federal budget, Svetozar Rikanovic, federal secretary for finance, stressed today at a session of the Yugoslav Assembly's Federal Chamber.

In connection with the demands of workers for the strain to be taken off the economy, Rikanovic also recalled that with the reduction in the basic tax on trade in oil derivatives in the period between September and October, appropriations will be reduced by 231 billion dinars, which corresponds to the level of the additional 3.3 percent of this year's federal budget.

Rikanovic announced that the FEC will provide information in the coming sessions of the chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly on the program for reducing spending at the Federation level.

Earth Tremor Registered in West Macedonia
LD2110075788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0537 GMT 21 Oct 88

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 21 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade Seismological Institute recorded a tremor, measuring six to seven Mercalli, 410 kilometres south of Belgrade at 3:19 A.M. this morning.

The earthquake, which measured 4.3 Richter, disturbed the citizens of Yugoslavia's western Macedonian towns of Prilip, Kicevo, Krusevo and Gostivar. There has been no report of material damage.

Greek Consul Told of 'Incorrect' Border Behavior
LD2010210088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1944 GMT 20 Oct 88

["Incorrect Actions by Greece"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Skoplje, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—Milco Balevski, chairman of the Macedonian Committee for International Relations, today called Prokopis Mantzouranis, consul general of the Republic of Greece in Skopje. He pointed out the incorrect attitude and action of Greek border organs, which several times during this year have turned back a greater number of citizens of the SR of Macedonia from the "Bogorodica", border crossing, near Gevgelija, even though they had correct travel documents and Greek entry visas. This also happend on 11 October, the day of the Macedonian people's uprising.

It was printed out to the Greek consul general in Skopje that these and other similar incorrect actions, as well as statements by some Greek officials, do not serve the interests of mutual and publicly stressed wishes for the development of mutual good-neighborly relations. On the contrary, it was stressed by the Yugoslav side, they are not in accordance with the starting principles and spirit of the Balkan foreign ministers meeting held recently in Belgrade.